HISTORY OF
THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT
IN ORISSA

VOL. II

CHIEF EDITOR

DR. HAREKRUSHNA MAHTAB

EDITOR

PRABHAT MUKHERJEE

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Vol. II

(1857-1911)

Chief Editor :

DR. HAREKRUSHNA MAHTAB

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PRABHAT MUKHERJEE

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I. ORISSA ON THE EVE OF THE MUTINY

The sky of Orissa was already cloudy before the storm of the Mutiny broke out. Unrest prevailed in many parts of British Orissa due the system of administration which ignored the interests of the Oriyas. The early revenue policy of the Government had already ruined the Oriya land-holders. Dissatisfaction also spread to the Tributary Mahals. In the south-western part of the Tributary Mahals, the Khonds (1) of the Khond Mahals opposed the systematic economic exploitation, the result of the opening of their country by the outsiders. (2) Politically backward, they resented any encroachment on their liberty and gave vent to their feelings by taking recourse to violence.

The leader of the Khond movement in 1856 was Chakra Bisoyee who first came to our notice during the Ghumsur rebellion. He took up the cause of the boy, 'whom the Khonds believed to be the young Raja of Ghumsur'. 3)

But the young Pretender to the Guddee (throne) of Ghumsur was tired of jungle life and wanted to surrender. (4) This led to a quarrel with Chakra Bisoyee, who, in 1855, moved to Baudh. E. A. Samuells, Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals. (5) asked the

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(1) "There is probably no old established community in the world which might with so much justice appropriate the motto of liberty and equality. In their deliberative assemblies all voices are equal and each cultivator is the allodial proprietor of the soil he tills"

E. A. Samuells to the Secretary to Government of Bengal 14th February 1855.

(2) See Vol. I chapter IX

(3) He is called *Raja Pilla* in the records. Bisoyee is the designation for a hill chief.

(4) E. A. Samuells to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal 21st October 1855.

(5) In 1814 the Judge Magistrate of the Cuttack district was appointed the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals. The arrangement proved to be unsatisfactory and from 1818 the Commissioner of the Cuttack province (as British Orissa was at first designated) became the ex-officio Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals of Orissa.

Raja of Baudh to relinquish his State for a pension. (6)

This had the desired effect and the Raja, with great difficulty, managed to expel Chakra Bisoyee from his State. The Khond Sirdar now took shelter on the banks of the Tel river, living alternately in Madanpur, a zamindari in the Kalahandi State (7) and at Jarasinga, a dependency of the Patna State. (8) Samuells requested the Commissioner of Nagpur to call upon the Raja of Madanpur to deliver up Chakra Bisoyee, warning him "of the very serious consequences which will follow if he persists in harbouring an enemy of the Government",

"The mere neighbourhood of this man" he pointed out "obliges me to keep a large body of the Paiks and Sebundis (9) in the Baud hills where otherwise a few Policemen would be sufficient",(10) He also made a similar request to the Commissioner of Chhotanagpur to ask the Raja of Patna to capture Chakra Bisoyee. The Raja of Madanpur declared that he was ignorant of Chakra Bisoyee's presence in his

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(6) E. A. Samuells had a poor opinion about the Raja of Baudh. The Khond Mahals at first belonged to the Raja of Baudh who exercised no real authority over the Khonds. The Khond rebellion in Ghumsur under the leadership of Chakra Bisoyee spread to the Khond Mahals. The Raja was unable to quell the disturbances. In February 1853, E. A. Samuells took over the direct administration of the Khond Mahals and appointed Dinabandu Patnaik as the Tahsildar of that territory.

(7) Karond or Kalahandi was a chieftainship under the Raja of Nagpur. The State passed under the Commissioner of Nagpur when Nagpur lapsed to the British Government in 1853.

(8) The Commissioner of Chhotanagpur exercised jurisdiction over the group of States known as the Sambalpur and Patna groups of Garhjats.

(9) "The Paiks form the bulk of the old feudal militia of Orissa being as the name indicates foot-soldiers."

The Feudatory States of Orissa p. 65

There was a Paik Company in Orissa. The officer commanding was under the control of the District Magistrate, Cuttack. The Paiks got less pay then the Sepoys of the Bengal and Madras infantries. The Sebundi corps of Ghumsur were recruited by the Agent in the hill tracts of Orissa, who was stationed at Russelkonda.

(10) E. A. Samuells to the Commissioner, Nagpur, January 1856

estate, but the statement was disbelieved by the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals. (11)

Chakra Bisoyee's presence in the Madanpur Zamindari became evident when the attack on Lt. Macneill's camp took place. On the 10th December 1855, Lt. Macneill, the Agent in the hill tracts of Orissa (12) was attacked by the Khonds at Orladhoni in the Madanpur estate. In 1853, he had arrested Rendo Majhi, the head of the Borikiya Khonds of Kalahandi on suspicion of complicity with a Meriah sacrifice and kept him in jail at Russelkonda. In December 1855, during his annual tour of Kalahandi, the Agent took the prisoner in chains along with him, with a view to warn the Khonds by this deterrent example. The Borikiya Khonds could not tolerate the humiliation of their chief and attacked the camp of the Agent. The attack was repulsed with some casualty. The Kuttiya Khonds 13) now joined them, and they made a second attack. The position of the Agent was critical till Dinabandhu Patnaik, Tahsildar of the Khond Mahals came to his relief with a party of Sebundis.

The Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals pointed out that had the two attacks on Lt. Macneill's camp not been successtully repulsed, "the flame would have spread throughout the whole of the Khond hills to the south-west of Baud".(14) He held that 'the Bisoyee' was responsible tor instigating the attacks on Lt. Macneill's camp. The Superintendent further intimated that Chakra Bisoyee had 'quitted the country' and retreated from Madanpur in the direction of the Jeypore estate.

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(11) Do. "There is no person" he wrote" better known to the Khonds than Chakra Bisoyee, and his arrival could not have been kept secret from the Rajah for an hour"

(12) In 1845, the Government appointed an Agent for the suppression of the Meriah sacrifices. He exercised jurisdiction over all the Maliahs or hill tracts of Orissa. The Agency was finally abolished in 1862.

(13) The Kuttiya Khonds are 'most warlike and troublesome among the Khonds' (The *Ganjam Manual* p. 52).

(14). E. A. Samuells to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal 1st February 1856.

The Orladhoni tncident was not forgotten. G. F. Cockburn, who succeeded Samuells as the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals in 1856, ordered an enquiry with regard to the conduct of the Raja of Madanpur. The Report of Lt. Elliot, who made the enquiry, was delayed due to the outbreak of the Mutiny. Lt. Elliot held that Chakra Bisoyee and his gang "were harboured and encouragad in their evil designs"by the Raja of Madanpur.(15) The Raja was removed trom the management of his estate and detained under the surveillance of his chief, the Raja of Kalahandi, "for his neglect in not reporting the presence at Orladhoni of Chakra Bisoyee and other rebels" (16) Cockburn was of opinion that the Raja had committed a great offence by sheltering Chakra Bisoyee at whose instigation the Khonds had attacked the camp of Lt. Macneill. Considering the trouble and expense that the Government was obliged to incur in the operations against Chakra Bisoyee, Cockburn suggested that the Raja should be imprisoned for life and his estate be confiscated. That, in his opinion, would be a fitting punishment for harbouring the rebels and would serve as an example "to other Rajahs and chiefs who might otherwise be inclined to sympathize with and assist the enemies of the Government". (17)

But the Commissioner of Nagpur, within whose jurisdiction Kalahandi was situated, did not like the inter ference of the Commissioner of Orissa. He informed Cockburn that the charges against the Raja of Madanpur had not sufficiently been proved to warrant any further punishment than that of his temporary removal from the management of the estate and his residence under the surveillance of the Raja of Kalahandi. Cockburn did not further pursue the matter though he believed that Chakra Bisoyee and his adherents "did find refuge and countenance" in the Madanpur estate (18).

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(15). G. F. Cockburn to the Commissioner, Chhotanagpur 6th February 1858.

(16). G. F. Cockburn to the Secretary to the Govt. of Bengel 15th January 1858.

Kalahandi was administered by the Commissioner of Orissa when the Mutiny broke out.

(17) G. F. Cockburn to the Secretary, Government of Bengal 30th August 1858

(18) G. F. Cockburn to the Secretary, Government of Bengal 23rd December. 1858

Meanwhile efforts were made to capture Chakra Bisoyee. In March 1856, Lt. Macdonald, Assistant to the Meriah Agent in the Orissa hill tracts, despatched a party together with Sebundis under the Tahsildar of the Khond Mahals, 'to apprehend the rebel' Chakra Bisoyee who was said to be residing under the protection of Dharam Singh Mandhata, the Majhee (headman) of Athgaon in the Patna State (19). Chakra Bisoyee' 'with the marvellous fortune such which seems to attend him'' again escaped but his principal adherent Bhitar Sardar Bhorei was captured (20). The Majhee of Athgaon "afforded the most open assistance to the rebels and even took up arms in their defence" when the Government force tried to apprehend them (21). Chakra Bisoyee escaped to Kimedi. News reached the Government that he had proceeded to join the Savaras of the Parlakimedi zamindari who had "set up a standard of rebellion" under Bisoyee Radhakrishna Dandasena of Gaiba (22). A number of villages were plundered by the Savaras. Captain Wilson with a detachment penetrated into the Savara country and ruthlessly suppressed the revolt. Aa a measure of reprisal, many Savara villages were burnt and crops were destroyed. It is to be noted that while Chakra Bisoyee was helped by the Garhjat landlords, the Doras (landlords) of the Parlakimendi zamindari actively assisted the Government. Dandasena was caught and hanged as a rebel.

Chakra Bisoyee was again traced on the banks of the Tel, near the border of the Patna State. The Commissioner of Chhotanagpur was asked to issue instruction to the Raja of Patna "so as to ensure his co-operation in effecting the seizure of the rebel who had so long eluded capture." (23) The Raja of Baudh was dissatisfied because the

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(19) E. A. Samuells to the Commissioner, Chhotnagpur 4th March 1856.

(20) E. A. Samuells to the Secretary, Government Bengal 24th March 1856.

(21) E. A. Samuells to the Commissioner, Chhotanagpur 24th March 1856.

(22) E. A. Samuells to the Secretary, Government of Bengal 13th May 1856.

(23) G. F. Cockburn to the Commissioner, Chhotanagpur 15th October 1856.

Government wanted to depose him as he refused to abdicate. It was reported to the Commissioner that Chakra Bisoyee had been receiving assistance from the Raja and Khond chiefs of Baudh, who were consequently summoned to Russelkonda and their assistance was sought "in the endeavour to effect the capture of Chakra Bisoyee and his rebel adherents and to maintain the tranquillity of the country". (24)

The Raja agreed to extend co-operation, as the Government gave up the proposal to depose him. Nothing is heard of Chakra Bisoyee, the great Khond leader after October 1856. Dharam Singh Mandhata, who gave shelter and defended him, languished in prison. (25)

(24 G. F. Cockburn to the Commissioner, Chhotanagpur 16th Ootober 1856.

(25) G. F. Cockburn to the Commissioner, Chhotanagpur 30th August 1856.



SURENDRA SAI

II. SURENDRA SAI

The Mutiny broke out when the 20th Bengal Native Infantry rose at Meerut on the 10th May 1857. It has been called the Sepoy Mutiny because the Sepoys started the rebellion. This was not simply a protest against the use of greased cartridges. They rose because they could no more tolerate the oppression and injustice of the army authorities. They were asked to go overseas if necessary without any extra emoluments. The Sepoys had to travel throughout northern India on foot, while the pay they got was hardly sufficient to make both ends meet. The 19th B. N. I. which was disbanded in 1857, had moved from place to place, from Lahore in 1851 to Barrackpore in 1857. The British regiments, on the other hand, lived stationary life in peace time with all modern amenities which the money from the Indian treasury could provide.

The Mutiny was really an Indian Mutiny because the people also participated. It was really an outcome of smouldering discontent, a protest against the exploitation and debasement of the people. As early as in 1817, Sir Thomas Munroe wrote to Lord Hastings as follows : "Foreign conquerors have treated the Natives with violence, and often with great cruelty but none have treated them with so much scorn as we; none have stigmatized the whole people as unworthy of trust, as incapable of honesty, and as fit to be employed only where we cannot do without them. It seemed to be not only ungenerous, but impolitic, to debase the character of a people fallen under our domination" (26). Thus the British administrative policy was responsible for the Mutiny. Had there been no Doctrine of lapse or the incident of the greased cartridges, popular discontent would have manifested itself, in some other form and would have caused a Mutiny just the same.

This fact has been admitted by Justin Mac Carthy who writes : "The fact was that throughout the greater part of north-western provinces of north-Indian peninsula, there was a rebellion of the native races against the English power. It was not alone the Sepoys who rose in revolt—it was not by any means a merely military mutiny.

(26). Nehru—*Discovery of India* p. 382.

It was a combination of military grievance, national hatred and religious fanaticism against the English occupation of India. The native princes and the native soldiers were in it. The quarrel about the greased cartridges was but a chance spark flung in among all the combustible material. If that spark would not have lighted it, some other would have done the work". (27)

It is a pity that Justin Mac Carthy and other historians of the Indian Mutiny are generally ignorant of the rising that took place in one obscure corner of India, in the district of Sambalpur. There the fire brilliantly lit the sky for two years. Even when the conflagration had been put out in other parts of upper India, the fire smouldered there within ashes for two more years. The History of Indian Mutiny should also include the career of Surendra Sai, whose long span of life was dedicated to the cause of his mother land. Like the Rani of Jhansi, he tried to liberate his territory from the British rule. He spent 32 years behind the prison bars and died as a prisoner. That was the price he paid for his patriotism.

Surendra Sai was born in 1809, in the village of Borgaon. His father's name was Dharam Singh. He belonged to the Chhatri Chauhans, the ruling family of Sambalpur. He had five brothers, Udwanta Sai, Ujjwal Sai, Chhabilo Sai, Dhruva Sai and Medini Sai. Udwanta was junior to him by two years and followed him through all the vissicitudes of life. From his boyhood, Surendra gave evidence

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(27) Justin Mac Carthy—*Indian Mutiny* vol. I, page 644. Discussing the qestion, whether the 'great movement against the White Man' was a mutiny or rebellion, Kaye writes "In many parts of the North-Western Provinces there had been violent rebellion without the aid or presence of Sepoys before they had risen, or after they had left the disturbed districts." He points out in this connection : "There were fears and discontents with which greased cartridges had no connection, and uprisings not incited by thoughts of spoilation of the treasure chests. The fears and discontents of powerful classes, who felt that they had been downtrodden by the English, that their old dynasties had been subverted, their old traditions ignored, their old usages condemned, and that everywhere the reign of annexation and innovation had commenced, and was threatening to crush out the very hearts of the nations, struck deep root in the soil"—*A History of the Sepoy War* : J. W. Kaye Vol. III pp. 305-306.

of martial spirit. It is said that he used to absent himself from the village school to learn archery from the Gonds. He learnt from the hill people the technique of jungle warfare. His marvellous guerilla fighting was a source of constant embarassment to the British authorities. Surendra Sai loved the Gonds and the Bhinjals, the despised hill tribes of the Sambalpur district. Had he ascended the guddee of Sambalpur, he would have ameliorated their wretched condition. But that day never dawned.

Sambalpur held the position of the premier State among the northern Tributary Mahals of Orissa. Therefore the British Government since the cession of Sambalpur by the Bhonsle Raja of Nagpur in 1826 wanted to control the administration of this State. In 1827, Maharaja Sai, the ruler of Sambalpur, died without leaving any male issue. The throne should have passed to Surendra Sai, who was a direct descendant of Madhukar Sai. But the Political Agent of Chhotanagpur (28) neglected his claim and placed Rani Mohan Kumari, widow of the late Raja, on the throne.

But the people did not like the rule of a woman. There was a revenue assessment during her rule. The assessment was deliberately made heavy in case of all those who were known to be partisans of Surendra Sai. Free hold lands were resumed and given to the favourites of the Rani on nominal rent. The Gonds and the Bhinjals were harassed by vexatious imposts. At last the hill people rose against administration, and were joined by discontented peasants. The insurgents looted some villages. Captain Higgins in charge of the detachment of the Ramgarh Battalion (29) at Sambalpur failed to suppress the disturbances. The Political Agent of Chhotanagpur sent a force from Hazaribagh under Captain Wilkinson in aid of Captain Higgins.

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(28). In 1819 Major Roughsedge commanding the Ramgarh Battalion was appointed Political Agent to Government in South Bihar and the Chhotanagpur Mahals. In 1834, administrative changes were made, and the South-west Frontier Agency was established under an Agent to the Governor General. In 1854, the Agency was abolished and a Commissioner was appointed.

(29). Ramgarh was the military district for Chhotanagpur. The Ramgarh Light Infantry Battalion consisted of a full corps of infantry, who was locally recruited, with cavalry and artillery attached. Detachments of the Battalion were posted at Chaibasa, Hazaribagh, Ranchi and Sambalpur. Doronda, a suburb of Ranchi, was the headquarters of the Ramgarh Battalion.

Captain Wilkinson took strong measures against the insurgents. Some of them were hanged and a large number of them were made prisoners. But this policy of repression could not establish peace in the State. At last, Captain Wilkinson sent a report suggesting the deposition of the unpopular Rani. The Government accepted his recommendation and deposed the Rani in 1833.

The people of Sambalpur expected that the rightful claims of Surendra Sai would now be recognized. But the Political Agent took a hostile attitude because he suspected that Surendra Sai instigated the Gond and Bhinjal zamindars to defy the authority of Rani Mohan Kumari. His choice fell upon Narayan Singh, Zamindar of Barpali estate, who was related to the ruling family. He was made the Raja of Sambalpur on the 11th October 1833. (30)

His accession caused a wave of protest throughout the State. The Zamindars and the Gauntias (31) considered Surendra Sai, as the rightful heir to the Guddee and paid allegiance to him. Surendra had certainly better claim than Narayan Singh. (32)

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(30) *The Bengal & Agra Annual Guide and Gazetteer*, 1841 Vol. 11 p. 313.

(31) According to Dr. Candenhead's First Settlement Report of 1850 there were in all 14 Zamindars and Gauntias who held their lands under a kind of ill defined military tenure in perpetuity by prescription not liable to enhancement. The Government of India decided that the Sambalpur Zamindar was a superior proprietor than Gauntia (letter dated 30th March 1876).

(32) The Genealogical table of the Rulers of Sambalpur.



Major Kittoe, who visited Sambalpur in 1838 described Narayan Singh as an "obscure and aged zamindar and a perfect imbecile". (33) He became very soon unpopular as he entirely neglected the administration.

The family of Surendra Sai enjoyed the 'Lakheraj' villages of Khinda. (21 miles from Sambalpur) and Talabera (or Talabeen) and a pension of rupees 1200, "which was quietly accepted only on the expectation of Soorunder's succeeding to the Guddee". (34) Narayan Singh disliked Surendra and his five brothers. Their claims to the Guddee "were the real causes of Narayan Singh's hostility".(35)

Balabhadra, the Gond zamindar of Lakshmanpur, rose against Narayan Singh. There was a skirmish with the Raja's sepoys supported by a Ramgarh Battalion contingent, and the insurgents were defeated and scattered. Balabhadra lost his life in this skirmish. But the disturbances continued for some time. The insurgents attacked the house of Duriyayo Singh, the Zamindar of Rampur, who was the chief supporter of Narayan Singh. Though Duriayo Singh could escape with his life, his father and son were killed. (36)

The Agent to the Governor General wanted to take drastic measures to crush the disturbances. Narayan Singh also utilized this opportunity to his own advantage. In 1840, Surendra Sai and his brother Udwanta Sai and their uncle Balaram Singh were tried for complicity in the murder of Duriayo Singh's father and son and were sentenced to imprisonment for life. The prisoners were sent to the

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(33). He is "now entirely in the hands of his crafty ministers. These people and the Brahmans possess the best lands and obtain his sanction to all kinds of extortion; the farmers in their turn grind their ryots. The effects of such an unjust and oppressing system are everywhere apparent" Kittoe J. A. S. B. 1836

(34). Major Impey to R. N. Shore, Commissioner, Cuttack 14th February 1862.

(35). R. N. Shore to the Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal 25th February 1862.

(36). *The Sambalpur District Gazetteer* p. 31. It appears that the name of the Rampur Zamindar was Duryodhan Singh.

Hazaribagh Jail where they were treated as political prisoners. Balaram Singh died in Jail.

Narayan Singh, Raja of Sambalpur, died in 1849. Before his death, he expressed the desire that the Government should resume the State. The Government decided that Surendra Sai, a life prisoner, had forfeited his claim to the Guddee. Before any final decision was taken, Narayan Singh's wife Rani Mukhyapan Devi was allowed to succeed him. In December 1849 the State lapsed to the Government. (37)

We have not got any account of the prison life of Surendra Sai. It appeared that he would not come out of the jail alive. But Fate ordained otherwise. At the time of the Mutiny, two companies of the 8th Bengal Native Infantry, known as Chhota Burdwan Ka Pultun, were stationed at Hazaribagh. When the detachments of this regiment broke into revolt at Dinapore, these two companies also revolted out of sympathy on the 30th July 1857. When the news of their disloyalty reached Ranchi, two detachments of the Ramgarh Battalion were sent from Doronda under Lt. Graham to disarm ths mutinious Sepoys at Hazaribagh. But the Ranchi troopers also joined the mutineers.

The Hazaribagh mutineers broke open the two jails at Hazaribagh and set Surendra Sai (38) and other prisoners free. There were 32 prisoners from the province of Cuttack and the Tributary Mahals

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37). It was argued that "the Government was perfectly free to resume the property, which from the motives of the policy we have bestowed on the Chauhan family, after its cession by the Mahrattas" R. N. Shore to the Secretary, Govt. of Bengal 25th February 1862

According to tradition, Narayen Singh had a daughter named Asabati.

(38) "The fugitive culprit Soorunder Sahi" wrote Colonel Forster, Commissioner, Sambalpur, "was liberated from the jail at Hazaribagh by the mutineers of the Ramghur Battalion in August 1857"

Colonel Forster to Lt B. V. Ashe Deputy Commissioner, Raipur 14th October 1858

in the Hazaribagh jails. (39) Surendra Sai did not join the mutineers who proceeded to Ranchi, on their way to Bihar. He left for Sambalpur along with his brother Udwanta to meet his own people whom he had left behind for 17 years.

On the receipt of the news of the Mutiny of the Hazaribagh Sepoys, the Chaibasa detachment of the Ramgarh Battalion mutinied on the 3rd September. They did not receive much sympathy from the zamindars of the Singhbhum district till Jagu, Diwan of the Raja of Porahat, persuded the Raja to give them shelter. (40)

The Hazaribagh and Ranchi mutineers stayed at Ranchi for about a month and then moved towards Rohtasgarh to contact Kumar Singh. (41)

Captain Leigh, Senior Assistant Commissioner, received wrong informations about the movements of the Hazaribagh Sepoys. On the 13th August, he informed G. F. Cockburn, Commissioner of the Cuttack province, that two mutinious companies of the 8th Bengal Infantry were marching on his Station along with 'the Pretender to the Sambalpur Raj'. He asked Cockburn to send

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(39) Out of the 32 prisoners, forcibly released, 18 were recaptured. Special mention may be made of Guman Singh who was convicted during the Angul rebellion. Cockburn sentenced him to transportation for life; but he himself recommended partial commutation of sentence, as Gooman Singh's escape from the jail was involuntary.

G. F. Cockburn to the Secretary, Government of Bengal
30th June 1858

(40) The Raja of Porahat was a man of vacillating temperament. On the 18th September 1857, Lieutenant Birch took charge of the Singhbhum district. With the help of Chakradhari Singh, Raja of Saraikella, he began operations against the mutineers and declared the Raja of Porahat to be a rebel. The Raja submitted, probably due to the pressure of his relation, the Raja of Mayurbhanj. He went to Ranchi to restore the Government treasure which was looted by the mutineers. Captain Dalton, Commissioner of Chhotanagpur, ordered him to return to Chaibasa and to surrender himself to Lieutenant Birch for trial. That the Raja refused to do, and he placed himself at the head of the Kols who took arms against the British, at the instigation of Jagu Dewan.

(41) 'Mutiny in Bihar' : H. P. Chatterjee *Bengal Past & Present* January-June 1956

immediately two companies of the 40th Madras Native Infantry from Cuttack. (42)

But the Commissioner opposed any hasty action. He admitted that the detachment of the Ramgarh Battalion at Sambalpur might follow their "enemy comrades' example". He observed nevertheless: "if it would be true that the Pretender is accompanied by two Companies of the 8th B. N. I. and also receiving aid, a most likely contingency, from the portion of the Ramghur Battalion now at Sumbalpur" it would be doubtful whether any advantage would result by sending a small party from Cuttack. (43)

But his apprehensions were ill founded. The mutineers at Hazaribagh had no mind to liberate Sambalpur. Captain Leigh again wrote on the 15th August. As he heard nothing more about the mutineers who were reported to have been marching towards Sambalpur, he did not renew his request for sending two companies of the 40th Madras Native Infantry. Previously he was under the impression that the Ramghar Battalion at Sambalpur was 'not steady'. But he "exhorted the men by every argument he could think of". (44)

Cockburn was of opinion that a strong party of 5 or 6 companies should be sent to Sambalpur to meet the situation. But he insisted that the Madras Government should send reinforcements from Berhampore to Cuttack., to replace the detachment of the 40th M. N. I., proceeding to Sambalpur. "Cuttack", he pointed out "must not be deprived of the security afforded to it and to the whole province

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(42) Captain Leigh to G. F. Cockburn, Commissioner
13th August 1856

It was reported that the Sepoys at Hazaribagh "intended to proceed to Sumbalpur" under the leadership of 'Sorunda Suhoe'. *Home Public Consultation*, 14th August 1857. No. 22 Quoted in 'Mutiny in Bihar.'

(43) G. F. Cockburn to the Secretary, Government of Bengal
14th August 1857

(44). Captain Leigh to Commissioner, Cuttack
15th August 1857.

The Sambalpur detachment consisted of 1 Subedar, 1 Jamadar 6 Havildars, 7 Naiks, 1 Bugler and 147 Sepoys.

by the withdrawal or material weakening of the military force which it has always been found necessary to have here". (45)

Cockburn was not sure of the loyalty of the Ramgarh Battalion stationed at Sambalpur, and considered a mutiny of the Sambalpur Sepoys 'as the principal danger to be dreaded'.

But the Sambalpur Sepoys 'remained true to a man'.(46) A letter was forged in the name of Subedar commanding Ranchi to Sheikh Panchcowrie Khan, Subedar of the Sambalpur detachment, desiring him to march to Ranchi with the treasure. He was asked to release the prisoners in the Sambalpur jail and make them carry the treasure to Ranchi. Panchcowrie Khan showed the contents of the letter to Captain Leigh who took adequate measures to guard the treasury. The information that the soldiers of the 40th Madras Native Infantry were proceeding towards Cuttack had also a sobering effect. (47)

It took some days for making the necessary arrangements for the transport. The road from Cuttack to Sambalpur, a distance of about 158 miles, was almost impassable during that part of the year,

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(45). Commissioner, Cuttack to Secretary, Government of Bengal
20th August 1857

Cuttack was garrisoned by troops of the northern military division of the Madras Presidency prior to 1844 and from 1856. Between 1844 and 1856, Bengal regiments including the 8th B. N. I., were posted at Cuttack. In 1855, Sepoys of the 53rd B. N. I., posted at Cuttack, committed outrages on the townspeople. This led to misunderstanding between Colonel Manson, Commanding Cuttack, who believed that the Sepoys were falsely implicated, and Harrison, Magistrate of Cuttack. E. A. Samuells, Commissioner of Cuttack, suggested that the Bengal regiment be replaced by a Madras Regiment. He also wanted that four mountain guns be supplied to Cuttack. The Supreme Government accepted his recommendations.

E, A. Samuells to the Secretary, Government of Bengal
8th October 1855.

Harrison was also transferred.

(46). G. F. Cockburn to the Secretary, Govt of Bengal
5th December 1857

Had there been a detachment of the Bengal Native Infantry at Cuttack, the Sambalpur Sepoys would have probably revolted.

(47) G. F. Cockburn to the Secretary, Government of Bengal
28th August 1857

and Cockburn calculated that the journey would take about 17 days. On the 26th August, two companies of the 40th M. N. I. left Cuttack under the command of Captain Hawkins. Lieutenant Hart and Ensign Napier accompanied the detachment. (48)

Cockburn was afraid that the mutineers of the Ramgarh Battalion at Chaibasa might take shelter in Mayurbhanj. It was reported to him that the Raja was recruiting a number of upcountrymen and that he appointed one Murtia Khan of Kanpur as the Tahsildar of Bamunghati. (49) Cockburn asked the Magistrate of Balasore to proceed to Mayurbhanj for investigation. The Magistrate of Balasore reported that the Raja had borrowed money from Murtia Khan and as he could not repay the debt, Murtia Khan had been appointed the Tahsildar of Bamanghati to realize his money. The Raja professed loyalty and, subsequently, gave active support to Lt Birch during his operations against Arjun Singh, who was related to the Raja. Captain Leigh went to Chaibasa from Sambalpur, and with the help of the Paiks lent by the Raja of Saraikela, established law and order at Chaibasa. (50) About the middle of December 1857, a man named Ananda Majhi was arrested for instigating the Santals in the northern part of the Balasore district to rebel against the 'Sahibs'. (51)

Surendra Sai wanted to assert his claims to the Guddee of Sambalpur before rising against the British Government. He had no followers and he doubted the sincerity of the Raja of Porahat. It is

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(48) G. F. Cockburn to the Secretary, Government of Bengal 27th August 1857

(49) G. F. Cockburn to the Secretary, Government of Bengal 28th August 1857

(50) G. F. Cockburn to the Secretary, Government of Bengal 8th September 1857

(51) 'The Mutiny in Manbhum': The Proceedings of the Indian Historical Commission, Patna.

unfortunate that Jagu, the Diwan of Porahat, (52) did not contact Surendra Sai on his way to Sambalpur through the jungle of Gangpur. Surendra fell seriously ill, while crossing the jungle. He however recovered and reached the district of Sambalpur by the middle of September, 1857.

The news of the approach of Surendra Sai and his brother spread like wild fire and people gathered to give a rousing reception to Surendra Sai, whose cause they wanted to espouse. But Surendra was not prepared for an armed conflict. After an incarceration ot 17 years, followed by a serious illness, he needed rest.

Captain Leigh, Senior Assistant Commissioner of Sambalpur declared Surendra Sai to be a rebel, and asked the people not to associate with him. As a detachment of the 5th M. N. I. arrived trom Berhampore at Cuttack on the 10th October, Cockburn could immediately send three more companies of the 40th M. N. I. to Sambalpur. Fifty men of the Paik company (53) at Cuttack were sent under the command of Captain Knocker to undertake station duties, so that the regular troops may be released for military operations (54).

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(52). Jagu Diwan took a leading part in organizing an anti—British movement in Singhbhum. He incited the Kols to take up arms and persuaded the Raja of Porahat to join the rising. In December 1857, Leiutenant Birch proceeded to Porahat with a body of Sikhs. With the help of some of the Raja's relations who were jealous of Jagu's influence, Lieutenant Birch captured the Diwan. He was summarily tried and hanged before the residence of the Raja of Porahat at Chakradharpur. Jagu was the first Oriya martyr of the Freedom movement of 1857.

(53). In 1857 the Orissa Paik Company consisted of 1 Commander, 1 Sergeant Major, 5 Subahdars, 5 Jamadars, 25 Havildars, 25 Naiks, 5 Buglers, 1 Native Doctor and 400 Sepoys. The Paiks formed a local civil corps. Detachments of the Paik company were stationed at Cuttack, Angul, Khujapara, Puri and at Khurda. About one hundred and fifty Paiks were again recruited during the Mutiny and sent to Sambalpur. After the Mutiny, the Paik company was absorbed in the Cuttack Divisonal Police Battalion.

Secretary, Government of Bengal, to the Commandant, Cuttack, Paik Company 4th December 1858.

(54). G. F. Cockburn to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 14th October 1857.

Captain Leigh sent some mounted Sepoys to contact Surendra Sai's party. They met the party at the outskirts of the town of Sambalpur. The party had then swollen to about 1500 men. Surendra wanted to meet the Senior Assistant Commissioner. Their meeting took place on the 13th October 1857. Surendra made a represntation, requesting the Government to recognize him as the Raja of Sambalpur. Till then he wanted to live with his relations at Khinda. Udwanta Sai had already left for Khinda by that time.

Captain Leigh insisted that Surendra Sai must stay at Sambalpur pending the order of the Government on his representation which he promised to forward. Captain T. E. Dalton, Commissioner of Chhotanagpur wrote to the Government of Bengal on the 30th October, recommending the commutation of his sentence, on condition that the two brothers must reside either at Cuttack or at Ranchi. But he categorically refused to consider Surendra Sai's claim on the Guddee of Sambalpur.

Meanwhile Captain Leigh was in correspondence with the Commissioner of Orissa, who insisted on taking strong measures. But he apprehended that Surendra Sai and his brother would not willingly go on exile. Surendra was given to understand that he would be allowed to live as a free man at Sambalpur and that no restrictions would be placed on his movements. But he was soon disillusioned. He was treated as a political prisoner and his residence was closely guarded. The rumour of his impending deportation caused a wave of unrest. Three companies of the 40th Madras Native Infantry arrived at Sambalpur towards the end of October, while another company of the same regiment left Cuttack on the 22nd October in charge of two mountain Howitzers and a small detachment of artillery, under Captain Hadow of the Madras Artillery. Cockburn was of opinion that the presence at Sambalpur of the six companies of infantry, and detachments of artillerymen and of the Ramgarh Battalion would enable the Senior Assistant Commissioner "to overcome all opposition to order and good government." Cockburn apprehended that there would be violent disturbance when Surendra and his brother would be deported. "Private information", he wrote, "leads me to believe that strong sympathy for Soorunder Saiee and Oodant Saiee is evinced by the people of Sambalpur and that although their followers have dispersed for the time being' the heads ot many villages are still collecting and are reay to assemble their adherents when it is supposed proper to do so." (55) He insisted that early and decisive

(55) G. F. Cockburn to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 30th October 1857.

measures should be taken otherwise the spirit of disaffection would spread. (56)

Surendra scented trouble and effected his escape on the 31st October 1857. He went to Khinda where Udwanta had already collected more than a thousand men. Captain Hadow was asked to reach Sambalpur by forced marches. The insurrection now openly broke out. Some of the prominent Zamindars and Gauntias joined Surendra Sai and took part in the movement against the British Government. (57)

The rebellion spread to the whole of the district of Sambalpur and to a part of the Bamra State. The caves in a small hillock, situated near the village of Kudopali, served as the headquarters of Surendra. The hillock admirably commanded the view of the adjoining villages. Captain Hadow, after reaching Sambalpur, immediately proceeded against the rebel strongholds. Khinda was abandoned by Surendra and Kolabira, situated about 25 miles north of Sambalpur, was taken by Hadow after some resistance. He destroyed the house of the Gauntia of Kolabira as ihe house was converted into a miniature bastion with holes. There was a skirmish with the insurgents at Jharghati. The insurgents could not stand before artillery fire and were dispersed with some casualty.

In the month of ecember 1857, the activities of the insurgents increased. "Indeed the whole country in the neighbourhood of Sambalpur was now temporarily in the hands of the insurgents, who were posted in strength at a distance of not more than three or four miles from the station. The insurgents were daily firing at the government pickets." (58)

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(56). Even the British Government agreed that there had been a very strong desire among all influential people of the Sambalpur district to see the old dynasty restored—

Secretary of State to the Governor General, 9th October 1862.

(57). The Zamindar of Ghes, who was a Bhinjal by caste, took part in the rebellion. His son also participated. The Zamindar was transported in 1864 and died in jail. His son was captured and hanged. The Zamindar of Bheren, Gond by caste, joined Surendra Sai and was killed in action. Karnahar Naik, the Gauntia of Kolabira, and the Zamindar of Kodabiga, both Gond by caste, took active part in the rebellion. Karnahar Naik was hanged as a rebel in 1860.

(58). The *Sambalpur District Gazetteer* p. 36.

The operations in the jungles and the unhealthy nature of the interior affected the health of the British military officers. The companies of the Madras Native Infantry were also badly in need of medical help. Cockburn made arrangment to send two doctors, Dr. Moore and Apothecary Hanson from Berhampore, to give medical aid to the troops. A corps of Sebundis were recruited from the Ganjam hill region to accompany the medical officers.

The party reached Rampur, the headquarters of the Raja of Redhakhol without any trouble. News then reached them that the route had already become dangerous. The insurgents were freely moving in the jungle regions of Bamra, Redhakhol and Sambalpur. Dr. Moore wrote to Captain Leigh for an escort to take them to Sambalpur, from Rampur a distance of 41 miles. The letter did not reach Captain Leigh in time, as he left Sambalpur on the morning of the 20th November, in pursuit of the insurgents.

During his temporary absence, "The whole force had turned out on the 20th night, as the alarm was given of the insurgents having been seen near the town" (59).

Dr. Moore became impatient and started without any military escort inspite of the warning of the Raja of Redhakhol. The party consisting of two doctors, the Sebundis and 20 'bearers' provided by the Raja of Radhakhol, started on the 25th November. A band of insurgents under Madhu Gauntia attacked the party at Joojumara in the Sambalpur district. Dr. Moore was cut down by a 'pharsa' (battle axe) (60). Hanson escaped with his life. He wandered in the jungle for two days without food or shelter. He was rescued by the Sebundis sent by Dinabandhu Patnaik, Tahsildar of the Khond-mahals, and returned to Rampur (61).

Captain Leigh with 50 men of the Ramgarh Battalion and a company of the 40 M. N. I. visited the spot. but he was too late. The insurgents attacked his party, and "under the cover of the jungle succeeded in killing and wounding several men of his detachment, whilst from the dense nature of the jungle, retaliation for the present

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(59. From G. F. Cockburn to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 2nd December 1857.

(60). From G. F. Cockburn to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 27th December 1857.

(61). Captain Leigh to G. F. Cockburn, 26th November 1857.

was impossible". (62) The prestige of the Government was at its lowest ebb.

Cockburn now took more effective steps to curb down the insurrection. He issued stern warnings to the Zamindars and Gauntias who were secretly showing sympathy to the rebels. Instructions were issued to the Rajas to extend their co-operation and not to allow their people to join the insurgents. The situation was indeed grave. Regular dak routes from Sambalpur to Cuttack and Calcutta were cut off by the insurgents. On the 21st November the Raja of Bamra informed Cockburn that one of his subordinate Zamindars, Sri Krishna Bera of Porapalle. had joined the rebels.

Cockburn was not satisfied with his explanation. He issued a stern warning to the Raja, "calling to his recollection the fate of the Raja of Unghool, his neighbour, who waa imprisoned and whose estate was confiscated for rebellious conduct towards the Government". 63 Cockburn asked Major Bates, officer commanding Cuttack, to send some more officers to Sambalpur. Major Bates ordered Captain Woodbridge and Lt. Vallance to proceed to Sambalpur via Angul. Captain Sweeny of the 32nd M.N.I. who was enroute to join his regiment at Kamptee was directed for duty at Sambalpur. He was subsequently ordered to proceed to Angul and there to wait for other officers.

Cockburn ordered Lt. Blunt, officer commanding the Paik Company at Cuttack, to arrange an escort of 25 Paiks for the officers "until relieved by a strong escort from Sambalpur". (64) But the order to Captain Sweeny to halt at Angul did not overtake him. He procceded in the direction of Sambalpur. (65)

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(62). The *Sambalpur District Gazetteer*, p. 36.

(63). G. F. Cockburn to Secretary to the Government of Bengal, 30th November 1857.

(64 . G. F. Cockburn to Secretary to the Government of Bengal, 3rd December 1857.

(65). G. F. Cockburn to Secretary to the Government of Bengal, 5th December 1857.

But he could not move from 'Sohunpore' owing to the disturbed state of the country—

G. F. Cockburn to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 27th January 1858.

There were daily skirmishes with the insurgents. Captain Knocker made a successful sortie and the "guns he had were most useful", while in another skirmish, Captan Leigh and Ensign Napier, who had no guns with them, suffered losses.

On the 3rd December, four clerks arrived from Sambalpur with a letter from Captain Leigh asking Cockburn to spare the remaining portion of the 40th M. N. I. In the month of August 1857, he had written to the Deputy Commissioner of Raipur for a 'Beldar' (Raipur Sepoys) force, but the Deputy Commissioner could not spare such a force at that time. Cockburn was informed that "things were not at all looking well here. Bodies of men are assembling at differsnt directions and are committing excesses" (66). Cockburn acted with his usual vigour. He asked Major Bates, commanding the 40th M. N. I. at Cuttack, to proceed to Sambalpur, "as the general state of the country appeared so very unsatisfactory".

On the 5th December, 2 companies of the 5th M. N. I. proceeded to Sambalpur. Major Bates started on the 7th December, taking with him the remaining two companies of the 40th M. N. I., consisting of 140 men (67).

Out of the four light mountain Howitzer guns which were kept at Cuttack, two had already been sent with Captain Hadow. Major Bates insisted on taking the two other Howitzer guns with him, leaving four "old and useless" guns for the defence of Cuttack, and no artillerymen to serve them (68). Dr. Cox, a medical officer, accompanied the forces because more than one third of the infantrymen at Sambalpur were reported to be sick (69).

The Sebundis from the Khond Mahals, serving under Captain Knocker, "behaved remarkably well" and this led Cockburn write to Lt. Macneill, Agent of the Orissa hill tracts, to raise immediate a levy of Ghumsur men, who were "peculiarly suited for jungle warfare" for service at Sambalpur (70). Macneill raised a levy at Russelkonda and sent it for service to Sambalpur.

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(66). Captain Leigh to G. F. Cockburn, 26th November 1857.

(67). G. F. Cockburn lo Major Bates, 3rd December 1857.

(68). Major Bates to G. F. Cockburn, 5th December 1857.

(69). G. F. Cockburn to the Secretary, Government of Bengal 5th December 1857.

(70). G. F. Cockburn to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 7th December 1857.

In the first week of December 1857, there were at Sambalpur six companies of the 40th M. N. I., consisting of 420 men, two companies of the 5th M. N. I. a detachment of Ramgarh Battalion, 25 Sebundis and 50 Paiks, and a detachment of artillerymen under Captain Hadow with four Howitzer guns. The new levy of Ghumsur men also arrived at Sambalpur towards the end of December. But the British failed to suppress the insurgents fighting with primitive weapons like matchlocks, axes and bows.

"By the beginning of December 1857, the dak road to Bombay was obstructed; two of the dak stations had been burnt down, whilst large bodies were collecting in various directions and committing excesses of all sorts" (71). The Dak communication between Cuttack and Sambalpur and between Calcutta and Sambalpur continued to be cut off. "All the roads were in possession of the insurgents and no body could pass on (72).

Sambalpur was now temporarily transferred to the Commissionership of Cuttack, as the rebellion of the Raja of Porahat engaged the attention of the Commissioner of Chhotanagpur. Cockburn "who had practically been in charge of the district for some time before" assumed charge on the 19th December. The road between Raipur and Sambalpur was opened by Captain Wood who with a squadron of irregular cavalry from Nagpur reached Sambalpur on the 29th December having marched 360 miles in 21 days. He proceeded against a party of the rebels with a force consisting of 75 men of Nagpur Irregular cavalry, 150 men of the 40th M. N. I. and 50 men of the Ramgarh Battalion. On the 30th December, he besieged Kudopali, the enemy stronghold. Instead of attacking the hillock, he pretended retreat. Having brought the enemy into open space, "he charged them down with his cavalry" (73). This was the first major disaster for the rebels. Fifty-three of them were killed and a number of them were wounded. Captain Wood also was wounded by an arrow.

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(71) The Minute of Sir Frederick Halliday Quoted in *Bengal under the Lieutenant Governors*, by Buckland, Vol. I, p. 99.

(72) G. F. Cockburn to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 7th December 1857.

(73) Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal to the Magistrate, Cuttack 14th January 1858.

This message was sent to Calcutta by telegraph from Madras.

Chhabilo Sai, brother of Surendra Sai, was shot dead during the skirmish at Kudopali. (74)

The discomfiture at Kudopali did not dishearten the rebels. A part of them attacked the Dak station at Champarasa between Sambalpur and Bamra, and burnt it.

The success which attended Captain Wood's cavalry was not forgotten. Captain Shakespeare was sent from Raipur with a squadron of cavalry. He fought his way through the Singhora pass of the Barpahar range, thus clearing the Raipur-Sambalpur Road. He returned to Raipur and Captain Woodbridge was sent with a detachment to guard the pass.

The Rajas of the Tributary Mahals were ordered to extend their fullest co-operation to the Government. The Raja of Patna was fined rupees 1000 for conniving at the escape of Ujjal Sai, brother of Surendra Sai, from his territory. This frightened other Rajas some of whom were secretly assisting the rebels. The Raja of Redhakhol proved his loyalty by capturing Madhu Gauntja, Zamindar of Loisinga, who had organized the attack on Dr. Moore and his party. Madhu Gauntia and three of his adherents, who were oaptured along with him, were hanged,

Major Bates arrived at Sambalpur on the 7th January 1858 and assumed command of all the troops in the district. The Jharghati range was held by the rebels under Udwanata Sai. Major Bates forced the Jharghati pass (some 14 miles north of Sambalpur) and cleared the Ranchi road from obstruction. He next destroyed the village of Kolabira which had again become a nest of the insurgents. On the 14th January 1858, Captain Leigh with 100 men of the 40th M. N, I. and 30 of the Ramgarh Battalion, attacked Debrigarh, a peak in the Barpahar range, 20 miles north of Bargarh, This was a rebel stronghold protected by stone barricades. Captain Leigh failed to dislodge the insurgents and was about to retire when the insurgents descended from the hill and attacked his party. In the skirmish Captain Leigh lost some men.

Cockburn now proceeded to Sambalpur, accompanied by a Battalion of the 5th M. N. I. under Major Wyndham from Berhampore and a detachment of the Madras Artillery under Captain Ellwyn. The party was attacked by the rebels on more than one occasion but it safely reached Sambalpur on the 20th January 1858.

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(74) There is a folk song on Chhabilo's death

Uli Uli Uli, Kudopalira majha khuli Chhabilo Saiku bajila guli

Uli, Uli Uli—an exclamation; *Majha khuli*—middle of the road *bajila guli*—was shot dead,

On the 12th February, Captain Woodbridge without taking any precautionary measure marched on a post held by the rebels at Paharasirgara. He was shot dead. A few Sepoys of the 40th M. N. I. also lost their lives. "On this all the rank and file were seized with panic and fled" (75).

On the 14th February, Ensign Warlow successfully attacked the enemy position. He found them very strongly posted in a defile between two hills covered with jungle. The insurgents retreated leaving behind some arms. Another successful attack was made by Captain Nichols, commanding the 5th M. N. I. on an inaccessible position in the Barparhar range. Major Wyndham opened the Dak route to Midnapore through the territory of the Raja of Bamra. Detachments under Captain Knocker and Lt. Vallance hunted down the rebels in all directions. But Surendra Sai remained at large. Captain Dyer with a company of the Paiks and the new Sebundi levy from Ghumsur also arrived at Sambalpur and assisted in the military operations. Captain Dyer destroyed some villages near Sambalpur for harbouring the rebels. Cockburn confiscated the estates of the rebel Zamindars and Gauntias (76).

Major Bates died at Sambalpur, and his place was taken by Major Wyndham. As the situation improved, Cockburn returned to Cuttack accompanied by Major Wyndham who made over the command to Captain Taylor of the 40th M. N. I.

Colonel Forster, after the suppression of the Porahat rebellion (76A) proceeded to Sambalpur with a wing of the Sakhawati Battalion. He was invested with civil and military authority with the rank of Commissioner. He arrived at Sambalpur on the 29th March 1858 and relieved Captain Leigh. He convened a conference of the neighbouring Rajas, who promised to send him contingents for military operations against Surendra Sai.

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(75). *Sambalpur District Gazetteer* p. 38.

(76). Bheren, Lakshmanpur, Kharsal. Kodabiga, Kolabira, Loisinga, Ghes and Karkutta were escheated. But these estates were restored to their owners by Major Impey.

Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal to the Commissioner, Cuttack, 7th August 1861.

(76A). Colonel Forster reached Chaibasa on the 17th January. He defeated the Raja of Porahat and captured large number of his followers which practically put an end to the rebellion in Singhbhum.

Colonel Forster established a 'Reign of Terror' by indiscriminate arrests and trial by a Court Martial. Colonel Forster recommended that Kolabira, Kharsal, Korkutta, Bheren, Patkulunda and Rampur be granted to Rup Singh 'for his meritorious services' (77). He pointed out that the Gauntias of those 'villages' had revolted against the Government. The grant was sanctioned by the Government of India (78).

Though the jail at Sambalpur had accommodation for 80 or 90 convicts only, about 300 persons were kept in the jail. Forster sent a hundred of them to Cuttack jail. Forty of those prisoners were further sentenced to flogging of 50 strokes. The Magistrate of Cuttack was not "aware by what law it was pronounced" (79) Cockburn referred the matter to Colonel Forster, expressing his opinion that "flogging cannot be and should not be carried out". Forster agreed to remit the whipping portion of the sentences (80).

As Forster had brought a battalion with him, the Sebundi levy from Ghumsur and the Paiks of the Paik company were withdrawn. The Raja of Patna, who had been fined rupees 1000 for conniving at the escape of Ujjala Sai, subsequently captured Ujjala Sai and made him over to Colonel Forster who hanged him. Thus by betraying one who fought for the cause of freedom, the Raja of Patna

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(77). Roop Singh was a man of humble position. He rose to the post of a Munsiff and was made a Rai Bahadur in 1857. He died in 1864.

R. N. Shore made the following comment on the grant to Roop Singh. "Even before Karnahar's surrender Roop Singh had made a request for the forfeited estates, which was promptly and indignantly rejected by Cockburn". Cockburn went further, and wrote to Colonel Forster warning him against "listening to any such impudent requests".

R. N. Shore to Secretary to Government of Bengal,
26th December 1861.

(78). Secretary, Government of India, Political Dept. to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 25th September 1858.

"Colonel Forster must be left to explain how he called large estates as villages".

R. N. Shore to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal,
26th December 1861.

(79). Magistrate, Cuttack to Commissioner, Cuttack,
8th May 1858.

(80). Colonel Forster to G. F. Cockburn, 13th June 1858.

earned the gratitude of the Government and his fine was remitted. The Raja of Keonjhar 'distinguished himself' by his 'zealous assistance' to the Government in maintaining British authority in Chaibasa. He also sent a contingent under Dharanidhar Bhanj to assist Lieutenant Birch in suppressing the rebellion of the Raja of Porahat (81).

The Raja of Keonjhar requested for five hundred 'musquets' to arm his Paiks, "as he anticipated an attack made on him by the partisans of the Rajah of Porahat" (82).

The records do not throw much light on Surendra's movements in 1859. The military operations continued under Lieutenant Vallance with a party of Sebundis, assisted by a detachment of the Sakhawati Battalion. Surendra left the district of Sambalpur and spent some months at Jashpur in the Raipur district, "where he met with much sympathy and was sheltered" (82A).

It was reported by Lt. B. V. Ashe, officiating Deputy Commissioner, Raipur, that 'some rebel chief from Sumblepore' had joined Garud Singh, rebel Zamindar of Sohagpur, who had taken shelter in the Rewa State, and that "the rebels meditated on an inroad in to the district of Sumblepore" (83).

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(81). G. F. Cockburn to the Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal, 3rd May 1858.

Dharanidhar was presented with a costly sword for his services. The Raja of Porahat put up a gallant fight. In 1858, E. H. Lushington, Special Commissioner, Singhbhum, and his party were ambushed and suffered heavy casualties. The Raja of Porahat held out till the 15th February 1858.

Captain Dalton, Commissioner, te the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 16th February 1859.

Arjun Singh's Estate was confiscated by the Government.

(82). Magistrate, Cuttack to Colonel Gordon Commanding Cuttack, 20th June 1858.

The Magistrate was of opinion that the Raja might be supplied a few 'musquets to enable him to do good services'. But Cockburn, Commissioner, suggested that the Raja should arm his Paiks with country matchlocks instead of British 'musquets'.

G. F. Cockburn to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 27th June 1858.

(82A). Col. Forster to Lt. B. V. Ashe, Deputy Commissioner Raipur, 14th October 1858.

(83). Lt. B. V. Ashe to Col. Forster, 9th October 1858.

Colonel Forster suspected that the rebel chief might be Surendra Sai and he wrote to the Political Agent in the Rewa State to make enquiry.

In June 1860, Surendra Sai and Kunjal Singh moved to the Khullari Parganah, Raipur district. Captain Elliot, Deputy Commissioner, Raipur, wanted reinforcement from Nagpur "to drive the rebels out of the district, and if possible, to disperse them and to capture their leaders" (84 .

Lt. Cockburn proceeded from Nagpur with two companies of infantry to act against the rebels in the Khullari Parganah. But he fell ill and his companies were withdrawn. They were substituted by a levy of 'Beldars' (Chhatisgarh Sepoys) to carry on the operations against the rebels.

In September 1860, the rebels moved to the Manikgarh hills in the Khariar estate. Colonel Forster wanted to surround the rebels hiding in their stronghold on the Manikgarh hills and sought the help of Captain Elliot (85). The Deputy Commissioner of Raipur wrote to the Commissioner of Nagpur for a detachment of Nagpur Irregular cavalry. The Commissioner decided to send three companies of the Nagpur Irregular force under the command of Captain Holland (86).

Meanwhile Lt. Lucie Smith, Assistant Commissioner, Raipur, informed Colonel Forster that in accordance with the instructions received from Lt. Vallance, he had proceeded with his force towards Tersanaly, the rebel village on the Jonk river in the Khariar estate (87). There he met Lt. Vallance. They attacked the Manikgarh hills from the front and rear, so as to take the rebels by surprise. But they failed in their attempt as the rebels dispersed in small parties towards the Junagarh hills in Kalahandi.

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(84). Captain C. Elliot, Deputy Commissioner, Raipur to Major Elliot, Commissioner, Nagpur, 20th August 1860.

(85). Colonel Forster to Captain C. Elliot, 25th October 1860.

(86). Major E. Elliot, Commissioner, to Brigadier C. Bronge, 31st October 1860.

(87). Lt. Lucie Smith to Colonel Forster, Camp Terpara, 9th October 1860.

Meanwhile Colonel Forster ordered the Raja of Khariar to maintain sufficient force in future in the hill district of Manikgarh. He was warned not to allow again, by negligence on his part, the rebel bands to congregate on the Manikgarh hills (88).

In April 1861 Major Impey was appointed Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur. The military operations against Surendra Sai continued. In the month of October Surendra Sai, Kunjal Singh and Hattee Singh were traced at a place beneath the Guru Pahar near the boundary line between Khariar and Nawagarh Bendra. The Deputy Commissioner of Raipur was opinion that the Rajahs of Khariar and Nawagarh Bendra were secretly giving shelter to them (89). He suggested to Major Impey that he should consider the expediency of summoning those chiefs and making them understand "that if Soorunder Sahi and Co., are not apprehended by a certain fixed date they will forfeit their estates." He referred to the common report that Surendra Sai had partisans among Major Impey's own office people (90).

But the Major Impey did not desire to disturb the rebels. Almost from the time of his joining his appointment, he urged the adoption of a policy of conciliation. He wanted not only to offer pardon to the rebels at large but also to restore to those rebels who had already submitted, their confiscated estates. He was of opinion that such conciliatory measures would induce the outstanding rebels to surrender. In his opinion, that was "the best measure for restoring order in that long disturbed province" (91). The Commissioner, Orissa, forwarded the letter to the Bengal government strongly recommending the adoption of a conciliatory policy (92).

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(88). Colonel Forster to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 12th December 1860.

(89 . "There cannot be any doubt that had the two Rajas in question so chosen, they could have captured the whole band at any time".

Lt. Lucie Smith, Deputy Commissioner, Raipur to Commissioner, Nagpur, 19th November 1861.

(90). Deputy Commissioner, Raipur to Major Impey, 12th October 1861.

(91). Major Impey to R. N. Shore, Commissioner, 8th June 1861.

(92). Commissioner, Orissa to Secretary Government of Bengal, 18th June 1861.

The Lieutenant Governor of Bengal sanctioned the offer of a free pardon to all rebels who would surrender, excluding Surendra Sai, Udwant Sai and Mitrabhanu (93).

The Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur understood the orders of the Government as authorizing the guarantee, not only of free pardon, but also of restitution of estates. He issued a proclamation to that effect on the 24th September 1861.

The first step towards the amnesty was taken when the rebel owners of Rampur and Patkulunda were restored to their estates. Orders were also issued by the Government for the release of the convict rebels in confinement in the Cuttack and Sambalpur jails.

On fhe 11th October 1861, a second proclamation was issued, which offered free pardon to Mitrabhanu, and a guarantee of life to Surendra Sai and his brother provided they would surrender before the 20th November. The proclamations appeared to have failed to produce any effect on Surendra Sai and his followers.

Major Impey informed the Deputy Commissioner of Raipur that a large military force was being organized to operate against the rebels after the expiry of the proclamations. The Commissioner of Chhotanagpur promised to send a 'large quota'. Impey also wanted assistance from the Deputy Commissioner of Raipur, 'should occasion require' (94).

So the C. P. Government did not disband the Beldar levy. When Surendra Sai and his band were expelled from Manikgarh, it was supposed that they would soon be captured by the Sambalpur authorities. That expectation was not realized and consequently it became necessary to retain the Beldar levy for the protection of the frontier villages and to co-operate in the operations against the rebels from the Sambalpur side (95). The sanction of the Supreme government was solicited for an expenditure of Rupees six thousand for the maintenance of the levy (96). The Supreme Government ruled that

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(93). Secretary to Govt. of Bengal to Commissioner, Orissa, 7th August 1861.

(94). Major Impey to the Deputy Commissioner, Raipur, 16th October 1861.

(95). Commissioner, Nagpur to Deputy Commissioner, Raipur, 28th November 1861.

(96). Commissioner, Nagpur to Secretary, Government of India, Foreign department, 10th December 1861.

the extra expenditure incurred on account of the Beldar levy might be charged to the chiefs of Khariar and Nawagarh Bendra as a fine in the event of it be proved to the satisfaction of the Lieutenant Governor, Bengal, that they had harboured the rebels. The Raja of Khariar was now frightened, He tried to seize Surendra Sai but Surendra escaped (97).

It was thought that the declaration of amnesty had failed and military operations on a large scale were to be undertaken. Consequently R. N. Shore started for Sambalpur on the 2nd December with the 8th Military Police Battalion.

He was of opinion that Major Impey some what "exceeded his instructions" in issuing proclamations "guaranteeing not only pardon but also restitution of property."

But he had to revise his opinion on his arrival at Sambalpur because of an unfortunate incident. Karnahar Gauntia, Zamindar of Kolabira, had surrendered to Major Bates on the positive promise of life.

During the absence of Major Bates on an expedition, Li. Robinson, who remained in command, sent Karnahar to Sambalpur where he was tried by Lt. Cockburn and was executed, the latter being ignorant of the promise of pardon (98).

Even before Shore reached Sambalpur. Khaggu Naik and Kanhai Naik, brother and nephew of Karnahar Naik, surrendered under the terms of the proclamations of Major Impey. They were "the most influential if not most powerful among the rebels surrendered so far" (99).

Shore reached Sambalpur on the 22nd December 1861. He found that the local people had full confidence in Major Impey who by his accessibility and by his habit of communicating directly with the people had acquired great personal influence.

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(97). Major Impey to Deputy Commissioner, Raipur,
3rd December 1861.

(98). R. N. Shore to Secretary, Government of Bengal,
26th December 1861.

(99). Major Impey to R. N. Shore, Commissioner,
25th December 1861.

He made up his mind to give Mojor Impey "the most marked support" in his attempt to conciliate the country and restored the Kolabira estate to the family of the late Zamindar on his own responsibility.

He wrote to the Government that restitution of confiscated estates had become necessary to restore confidence in the good faith of the Government which had been rudely shaken by the unfortunate execution of the Zamindar of Kolabira. (100) He reiterated that 'good faith and policy' require that with the exception of Surendra Sai and Udwanta, all other rebels should receive full and free pardon (101).

The Bengal Government expressed 'the deepest regret' for the breach ot faith with Karnahar Gauntia and confirmed the terms of Major Impey's proclamations, restoring the property of the ex-rebels (102).

Major Rattray arrived at Sambalpur after a few days with the bulk of the 9th Police Battalion. It was decided that 'active operations' should be postponed for a few days. Shore expected that the rebels would now realize that the amnesty offer was not due to any weakness on the part of the Government and that they would appreciate the 'wise and judicious' policy of Major Impey and would surrender before the Government would assume the offensive (103).

Major Impey even held out hopes to the rebels that other estates which had been confiscated and bestowed on Rup Singh would also be restored to their proprietors in case they surrender. He now made alternate arrangements with Rup Singh to compensate him for the loss of the estates granted to him. Rup Singh was aware of the vengeance of the ousted holders now to be pardoned and of the precarious nature of his title to the estates, not supported by any deed. He made a virtue of necessity and yielded gracefully. He received the parganahs of Padampur and Chandrapur in lieu

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(100). R. N. Shore to Secretary, Government of Bengal, 1st January 1862.

(101). R. N. Shore to Secretary, Government of Bengel, 18th January 1862.

(102). Secretary, Government of Bengal to R. N. Shore, 21st January 1862.

(103). R. N. Shore to the Secretary, Govt. of Bengal 29th December 1861.

of the estates he relinquished. The generous treatment received by the Zamindars of Kolabira, who had been determined enemies of the Government, convinced the rebels about the sincerity of Major Impey and R. N. Shore. (104)

From this time onward, both of them were directly engaged in opening communications with the rebels 'encouraging them to surrender'.

Shore found out that there were parties in the town, 'whose interest was against the pacification of the country'. His instrument was principally village Gauntias, of known influence with the rebels, who took personal risks by going to the rebel haunts.

The next person to surrender was Mitrabhanu. He came to Sambalpur on the 7th January 1862 and met Major Impey though he was at first apprehensive about his personal safety. Major Impey cordially received him and assured him of the restoration of the two 'Lakheraj' villages which were held by him before the commencement of the rising. Mitrabhanu's surrender induced Udwanta Sai to open negotiation with Major Rattray. He apprehended that the result of his submission would be immediate imprisonment for life which was still hanging over him. Shore then took the only other course that seemed opened to him. He sent a 'Purwana' inviting Udwanta to come and meet him, guaranteeing him life and liberty. He made it clear that Udwanta would be free to go back safely, in case the negotiations would break down.

But Udwanta still hesitated. The emissaries who had proceeded to the southern part of the district failed to induce the rebels to surrender who declared that "they would not come in unless the ancient Raj was restored". As the hope of rebels giving in receded to the background, it was decided to make a forward movement 'though with little hope of surprising the enemy'.

At the last moment. Shore consented on the request of some of the Gauntia emissaries, to postpone military operations and to contact the family of Dhruva. Dhruva Sai was at that time living with Udwanta. His large family was left without any means for their

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(104). R. N. Shore to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 31st March 1862.

"It was universally considered throughout the country" he wrote "that they (the Zamindars of Kolabira) had suffered great wrongs"

subsistence and it readily responded to the friendly gestures of the Deputy Commissioner. The sons of Dhruva Sai approached their father who in his turn won over Udwanta. On the 17th January, Udwanta and Dhruva Sai surrendered. Kripasindhu Behera, head of the Bamra Khonds, also surrendered, as a consequence of Udwanta's submission.

Udwanta, "a man of ability and resolution" led the rebellion in the northern part of the district. But he had for a long time little contact with Surendra Sai who was at that time in the southern part of the district. The same policy was persued with Udwanta, "as had answered well heretofore, that of perfect and entire trust" (105).

No restraint whatever was practised and Udwanta was allowed to move freely within the district. Udwanta was informed that the Government would not call on him to act against his brother or "against the men who had sacrificed every thing for his family" (106).

But the Government requested him to procure the submission of his brother. He agreed and started for the south-western corner of the district, to meet his brother and other leaders. They were Hathi Singh, the ex-zamindar of Ghes, his brother Kunjal Singh, Khagesvar Deo, Kamal Singh and Janardan Singh ex-zamindar of Pahara Sirgara.

After receiving the Lieutenant Governor's telegram, conveying a free pardon to Udwanta Sai, Shore no longer considered it necessary to detain the 9th Police Battalion or the mounted Police which had arrived from Ranchi. Major Rattray accordingly left Sambalpur with his force on the 10th February.

Udwanta's mission was not at first successful. He incurred considerable odium for surrendering without consulting his brother. He however, succeeded at last in winning over Hathi Singh 'by far most important' of Surendra Sai's remaining adherents. Major Impey was hopeful that Surendra would surrender soon and he held 'frequent personal consultations' with the officiating Commissioner of Orissa. He advocated the advisability of restoring 'this leading

(105). R. N. Shore to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 31st March 1862.

(106). R, N. Shore to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 31st March 1862.

Chauhan race' to a position of comparative respectability. He pointed out that the family was entitled to 'Khorak Poshak'. During the rule of Narayan Singh, the family held the villages of Khinda and Talabera and received a pension of rupees 1200 per annum. Though the "provision would appear to have been inadequate" (107) the family accepted it on the expectation of Surendra Sai's succession to the Guddee of Sambalpur. He wanted that the members of the family should be granted villages in partial commutation of their pensions. He recommended pensions to Mitrabhanu, 'now married to a Raja's daughter', to Udwanta Sai 'now on Government service in the district' and even to Surendra Sai, in case he would surrender.

He pointed out that the total amount of proposed pensions to the Sai family would be much less than the amount granted as pensions (rupees 12,600) since lapsed, after Narayan Singh's death. Rani Mohan Kumari alone received rupees 8000 per annum as pension (108).

In his next letter to the Commissioner, he recommended a scale of pensions for the Sai family, of an aggregate amount of rupees 5600, including a pension of rupees 1000 per annum to Surendra Sai "should he now surrender" (109).

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(107). Major Cumberlege lied when he wrote that under native rule, the village of Khinda was the ancestral property of the family of Surendra Sai, and "it was all that it had for many years".

Major Cumberlege to the Commissioner, Chhatisgarh, 11th February 1865.

(108). Major Impey to R. N. Shore, Commissioner 14th February 1862.

(109). Major Impey to R. N. Shore, Commissioner 22nd February 1862.

Mitrabhanu	Rs. 1000/-
Udwanta Sai	Rs. 1200/-
Dhruva Sai	Rs. 1200/-
Surendra Sai	Rs. 1000/-
Medhnu Sai	Rs. 600/-
Ujjal Sai's Children	Rs. 600/-
	Rs. 5600/-

On receiving the satisfactory intelligence of Hathi Singh's surrender, Shore decided that his presence at Sambalpur was no longer necessary, and he accordingly left Sambalpur on the 20th February, taking with him a part of the 8th Police Battalion under Lieutenant Dolmage. The estate of Ghes was restored to Hathi Singh. Shore in his letter to the Government of Bengal, criticized the conduct of the Garhjat Rajas. They were summoned by Major Impey to meet the Commissioner on his arrival at Sambalpur accordtng to the custom; "and all, on one excuse or another, failed to attend". Shore took severe notice of their conduct, specially of those "who were suspected of harbouring the rebels". The Rajahs of Patna, Khariar, Bindra Nawagarh and the Zamindars of Phooljhar and Barasambar were fined one thousand rupees each. He pointed out that in the territories of Khariar, Barasambar and Bindra Nawagarh, the rebels found shelter whether with or without the connivance of the Chiefs themselves (110).

Shore highly praised Major Impey for having discovered the true remedy for pacification of the country and "of applying it with a zeal, determination and judgment which left nothing to be desired".

From his camp at Sonepur, R. N. Shore acknowledged the receipt of Major Impey's letter promising 'warmest recommendation to the Government' to his proposals regarding pensions to ex-rebels (111).

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(110). Major Impey drew the attention of Colonel Balmain, Commissioner, Chhatisgarh, regarding the refractory conduct of Krishnachandra Singh, Raja of Khariar, and of Omrao Sai, Raja of Bindra Nawagarh. Impey suggested that the two Rajas be deposed and pensioned off (letter dated 27th July18 63). The Commissioner reported the matter to the Secretary, Foreign department, Government of India, for action. (letter dated 12th September 1863)

Richard Temple in his Minute also expressed dissatisfaction with the conduct of the Chiefs of the Sambalpur territory. He referred to the fact that "their subjects did constantly harbour outlaws and other persons of Soorundhur Sahi's party, who were engaged in causing outrages". "Most of those chiefs", he pointed out, "must have known something about these affairs—yet hardly any one of them gave any assistance worth mentioning to the Government".

(111) R. N. Shore to Major Impey, Deputy Commissioner 25th February 1862.

On the same date, he wrote to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal thanking the Lieutenant Governor for his approval of the proposal to extend free pardon to Surendra Sai himself, in case of his surrender, Shore thanked the Government of Bengal for approving his line of policy towards the rebels. He explained that no restriction was imposed on Udwanta's movement because that would have prevented Surendra Sai's surrender, "All his old distrust would revive with double force—and he would still prefer his present precarious life in the jungles".

He next discussed 'the serious question' of the future disposal of the family. He was of opinion that the sight of the entire family living in peace and contentment in the district 'which they have so long claimed' would have a good effect on the country. He wished to put the fact of the rebellion and the part they took in, altogether out of view. After the lapse of the State, the family had not even 'the very smallest claim' to the Guddee of Sambalpur, yet, he pointed out that 'justice and policy' required that a liberal provision should be made for the support of the family, "whose inheritance we are regarded as having taken" (112).

He added that there had been a strong desire among all influential people of the country to see the old dynasty restored, and that "we cannot treat this feeling with contempt. We must, I consider, be prepared to meet and conciliate it". He agreed with the recommendation of the Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur that Udwanta, in consideration of the last service and Dhruva, on account of his large family (12 children) should be given pensions of rupees 1200 each. He also agreed with other recommendation of pensions even including the proposed pension to Surendra Sai 'in the event of his surrender'.

Shore justified the grant of pensions to an aggregate amount of rupees 5600 per annum to the Sai family, from the revenues of the Sambalpur district amounting to a lakh of rupees. He pointed out when the revenue was far less, on the occasion of the lapse of the State to the Government, pensions to an aggregate amount of no less than rupees 12,600 were granted to the Ranis and other members of the ruling family, besides land grants to the illegitimate and distant branches of the Chauhan family. More over the proposed provision to the Sai family scarcely equalled the mere annual interest of the

(112) R. N. Shore to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 25th February 1862.

cost for one year of the force lately employed in the district. He concluded that the leniency accorded to the rebels was not due to any weakness on the part of the Government, but was actuated by a genuine motive to establish permanent peace in the district (113).

Though Major Impey hoped that Surendra Sai would soon surrender he had to wait for a few more months. Mean-while he continued his policy of conciliating the rebels who had surrendered. Through them he contacted the rebels still at large. Lokanath Panda of Rampela was made Gauntia of some villages for his efforts "in procuring the surrender of the rebels". Mritunjaya Panigrahi of Arda like wise received villages, "in consideration of his having given assistance to effect the surrender of rebels in 1862" (114).

Hathi Singh's surrender and the persuation of Udwanta Sai (115) had at last effect on the mind of Surendra Sai. The privation and hardship in a fugitive's life in the jungles, the resistance to the well-equipped Brtish forces with primitive weapons could not be prolonged indefinitely. He was made to understand that since the Mutiny in other parts of India had ended, the Government was in a position to collect a huge force from all parts of India to crush his resistance. His son, "a weak young man" had already surrendered and gone to enjoy his villages in free tenure. His brother Dhruva was already showing zeal in manifesting loyalty in the hope of getting a liberal pension, since he had a large family to support.

On the 3rd May, he wrote a letter to Major Impey expressing his intention to surrender, provided his claim to the 'Rajgi' of Sambalpur was considered. On the 4th May, Major Impey sent a letter through Police Jamadar Rajkumar Misra, distinctly intimating that "the guddee of Sambalpur would never again be established and that if he desired to surrender, he must abandon all hope or idea of that". At the same time he assured that the Government would make liberal provisions for his maintenance.

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(113). R. N. Shore to the Secretary, Government of Bengal 25th February, 1862

(114). Major Cumberlege to the Commissioner, Chhatisgarh 24th February 1864

(115). "The surrender of Soorunder Sahi was brought about entirely through his exertions and persuations"

R. N. Shore to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 21st May 1862

To strengthen Surendra's confidence in his sincereity, he sent his trusted 'Goomasthas' along with Udwanta Sai to contact Surendra.

Sambalpur had just then been transferred to the Central Provinces. Surendra hoped that he would get better treatment from the C. P. Government. The conciliatory attitude of Major Impey led him to believe that the British Government would make further concessions as a price of his surrender. More over he was in financial difficulty. When the Paiks 'who had followed him and his fortunes' claimed arrears of pay, Impey guaranteed the payment to the persons who advanced the money to Surendra Sai (116). He now sent intimation of his surrender.

On the 16th May 1862, Major Impey and Surendra Sai met at a place near Sambalpur (117). Surendra surrendered on a guarantee of 'life, liberty and free pardon', (118). With him surrendered his staunch adherent Khagesvar Deo. Only two remained at large. Kunjal Singh, brother of Hathi Singh of Ghes, and Kamal Singh, uncle of Khagesvar Deo, did not surrender. But it was expected that they would also do so.

R. N. Shore intimated the news of the surrender of 'Surunder Sahi' to the Government of Bengal. Although Sambalpur had just then been transferred to the Central Provinces, (118A) Shore thought that the news of surrender of "the last and chief Rebel" would be received with interest and satisfaction by the Lieutenant Governor. He recommended a pension of Rupees 1000- per annum to Surendra Sai, though he understood from Major Impey that he had sent his application for such a pension to the 'Nagpur authorities'. He presumed, however, before taking action on that application,

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(116). Assistant Secretary to Chief Commissioner to Secretary, Foreign dept. Government of India 25th September 1862.

(117). It was raining hard. So after a cordial greeting, Impey sped ahead. "Soorunder Sahi was in rather a fidgety way".
Major Impey to Mrs. C. Temple, Nagpur 23rd July 1862.

(118). Impey to Secretary to Chief Commissioner,
16th May 1862.

(118A). The adminstration of the new province was constituted on 2nd November 1861.

"Supreme Government would make a reference to the Government of Bengal" (119)

The Chief Commissioner, C. P. informed the Governor General in the Council that Surendra Sai, "the pretender to the guddee" of Sambalpur had surrendered. He also forwarded Major Impey's application dated the 16th May, recommending a pension to Surendra Sai of rupees 1200 per annum. Impey desired that the pension should be increased to rupees 1500 (120).

R. N. Shore again wrote to the Government of Bengal, as solicited by Major Impey, that in consideration of "staunch adherence" shown by Udwanta Sai and of "the very valuable services rendered by him", he be presented, as a mark of Government favour, with a shawl valued sixty rupees. He admitted the anomaly of rewarding a man who was lately "an outlawed rebel", but he thought that the presentation would not be misplaced. He had never heard Udwanta's name coupled with acts of deliberate bloodshed and outrage. "His character in fact stood rather high" and his conduct since his surrender was quity satisfacto-y (121).

The Government of Bengal forwarded the letter of the officiating Commissioner of Cuttack, who recommended the grant of a further reward to Udwanta Sai, to the C. P. Government. As Udwanta Sai had already been recommended to the Government of India for a pension of Rupees 1,200 per annum, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal thought it questionable, whether, with reference to his past conduct, he ought to be further rewarded (122).

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(119). R. N. Shore to the Secretary Government of Bangal, 21st May 1862

It is to be seen that the Commissioner of Orissa recommended a pension to Surendra Sai, though he had no jurisdiction at that time over Sambalpur. More over his suggestion for a reference to the Bengal Government must have been resented by the C. P. Government. It appears that the interference of the Bengal officers who endorsed the policy of Major Impey, caused the unreserved support by the C. P. Government to Major Cumberlege's policy which reversed that of Major Impey.

(120). Secretary to the Chief Commissioner to the Secretary Government of India. 3rd June 1862

(121). R. N. Shore to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 3rd June 1862.

(122). Bell, Under Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Chief Commissioner, C. P. 25th June 1862.

The C. P, Government was informed that the Governor General in Council considered Rupees 1200 per annum "quite sufficient", for Surendra Sai and was pleased to sanction a pension to that amount for his life. It was pointed out that Surendra Sai's claim to the larger pension proposed by the Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur in consideration of his being the chief of the family was neutralized by the fact of his having been 'the most contumacious and troublesome' of the insurgents' (123).

The Viceroy in Council sanctioned the pensions granted to the family of Surendra Sai of an aggregate amount of Rupees 4600. His Excellancy in Council also sanctioned the proposal that the pensioners should take out part of the pensions in the free hold villages to be made over to them for their lives (124).

Kunjal Singh. one of the principal followers of Surendra, did not surrender. His refusal need not be attributed to any lofty motive of patriotism. This statement requires reference to his earlier activities. In 1857, Narayan Singh, Zamindar af Sonakhan in the Raipur district, joined the rebellion. He was connected by family ties with some of the Sambalpur Zamindars. He was captured by surprise by Lieutenant Smith, Assistant Commissioner, Raipur, with the help of his uncle Maharaj Sai, Zamindar of Deoree. Narayan Singh was hanged and his Zamindari was confiscated.

His son Govinda Singh was placed in charge of the Zamindar of Deoree. In July 1860, Maharaj Sai was murdered in cold blood by Kunjal Singh, Govinda's father-in-law and by Ram Shah, Govinda's maternal uncle. Kunjal Singh came from the territory of Sambalpur to commit the outrage and carried away as prisoners two daughters and a son-in-law of the murdered man, whom he detained as hostages.

The Commissioner of Nagpur offered rewards for the apprehension of Govinda Singh and Kunjal Singh, with the sanction of the Government of India (125). Colonel Forster, Commissioner of Sambalpur, issued proclamations, making known the rewards throughout the district.

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(123). Under Secretary to the Government of India to the Chief Commissioner C. P. 19th June 1862.

(124). Secretary to the Government of India to the Chief Commissioner C. P. 7th & 15 July 1862.

(125 . Deputy Secretary, Foreign Dept, Government of India to the Secretary to Chief Commtssioner. 20th August 1860

When Surendra Sai surrendered, Kunjal Singh, who was also offered amnesty, expressed his willingness to surrender after his recovery from illness (126).

Captain Lucie Smith, Deputy Commissioner, Raipur, strongly objected to the grant of free pardon to Kunjal Singh. In February 1862, he wrote to the Commissioner of Orissa, pointing out that Kunjal Singh and his accomplice Ram Shah, must be debarred from any pardon which might have been tendered to their associates in rebellion (127).

R. N. Shore, Commissioner, replied that had he known about the complicity of Kunjal Singh and Ram Shah in the murder of the Zamindar of Deoree, thay might have been excluded by name from the operations of the general pardon. But in his opinion, it was too late to withhold the offer of free pardon that had been extended to them (128).

Captain Smith wrote a strong letter to the Commissioner of Nagpur, pointing out that Maharaj Sai rendered loyal services to the Government and 'in revenge for that loyalty', he had been murdered and his relations had been taken away as captives by Kunjal Singh. Such a man, he insisted, must not be granted pardon (129).

The Chief Commissioner, referred the matter to the Government of India. He objected to the grant of pardon without any distinction or reference to the previous records. Inspite of the fact that a reward had been declared for the apprehension of Kunjal Singh as the principal offender in the murder of the Zamindar of Deoree, and a copy of the proclamation had been sent to the Sambalpur office. Kunjal Singh was considered to have an equal right with other rebels to the pardon that had been extended to them on surrender. In his opinion, a pardon offered on account of political offences was not intended to include parties guilty of heinous

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(126). Kunjal Singh "from severe illness in unable to come in but may be considered as virtually surrendered".

Major Impey to Secretary to Chief Commissioner. 16th May 1862.

(127). Deputy Commissioner, Raipur to Commissioner, Cuttack. 19th Feb. 1862,

(128) Commissioner, Cuttack to Deputy Commissioner, Raipur 27th Feb. 1862.

(129). Deputy Commissioner, Raipur to Commissioner, Nagpur 4th April 1862.

crimes, "simply because such parties were associated with the rebels" (130).

Col. H. M. Durand, Secretary to the Government of India, forwarded the letter of the C. P. Government to the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal with the request that he would direct the Commissioner, Orissa, to withdraw the grant of pardon to Kunjal Singh and Ram Shah. Colonel Durand made a melodramatic offer to them. The Commissioner might inform them that their lives would be spared if they would stand the trial. If they would decline, they should be allowed to go back without molestation and should not be pursued for 48 hours (131).

The Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, in his turn, supported the Commissioner of Orissa. He pointed out that though Sambalpur had been transferred to the Central Provinces by that time, the effect of the order cancelling the pardon would be felt in the adjoining Garhjat States under the control of the Bengal Government. He admitted that while issuing orders for a full and free condonation of the past, the fact that some of the proclaimed offenders might have committed crimes beyond the jurisdiction of the Bengal Government, was overlooked. He held that the Commissioner, was 'clearly guilty of grave indiscretion' by interpreting the application of the Proclamation of free pardon himself, without the authority of the Bengal Government.

Nevertheless, it would not be opportune to make any modification in the offer of pardon, "which would create mistrust and might cause other pardoned offenders once more to return to jungles under the mistaken apprehension that their pardon might be similarly revoked or modified."

Without desiring to extenuate the crimes of Kunjal Singh and Ram Shah, the Lieutenant Governor further pointed out that the crime was committed during the rebellion by way of retaliation, "for what they conceived to be a gross act of treachery against themselves", He requested the Governor General to consider, "whether, for the purpose of bringing those men to justice for a crime committed

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(130). Secretary to Chief Commissioner, C. P. to Col. H. M. Durand, Secretary to Foreign Dept Government of India.
28th April 1862

(131). Col. Durand to Secretary, Government of Bengal
19th May 1862

nearly two years ago, it was expedient to expose that part of the country to a recurrence of disturbances" (132).

The Government of India again changed their opinion. They agreed with the Government of Bengal that the terms of the Proclamations, whether they were the fruit of design or carelessness, must be scrupulously carried out- "The maintenance of the character of the British Government for good faith is of more importance than the punishment of culprits however guilty they might have been" (133).

Meanwhile Major Impey wrote a stern note to Kunjal Singh ordering him to give himself up to stand his trial, "under the guarantee that if found guilty his life nevertheless would be spared". In his opinion, Kunjal acted treacherously towards Surendra Sai, who guaranteed his surrender (134).

Impey explained that Kunjal preferred to live the life of a dacoit (135).

He pointed out that even before he fled away from the vicinity of Sambalpur, his men "had committed some depredations" (136).

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(132). E. H. Lushington, Secretary to Government of Bengal to Secretary, Government of India, Foreign dept 30th May 1862.

(133). Secretary, Government of India to Secretary Government of Bengal. 25th June 1862.

The Government of India agreed with the C. P. Government that the pardon granted to Kunjal Singh should be revoked. They then agreed with the Bengal Government that the pardon once granted should not be revoked.

(134). Major Impey to Secretary to Chief Commissioner 12th June 1862.

(135). "They say that a lion has Jackals. I am certain that the name of an outlaw, in these wilds, where pursuit is difficult, creates hundreds of budmashes, who exist not with or through him but only by spreading the terror of his name. Soorunder Sahi's name gained a livelihood to numbers. This you will clearly understand when I say that at the very time when he was only 12 miles away from the city negotiating with me there were villains quite unconnected with him holding a part nearly a 100 miles away giving impression that he was with them".

Major Impey to Mrs. C. Temple 23rd July 1862.

(136). Major Impey to Captain Mackenzie, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner 12th June 1862.

The Governor General in Council commended the zeal and earnestness with which R. N. Shore and Major Impey had laboured to restore tranquillity in Sambalpur. His Excellency in Council believed that 'this petty rebellion' was allowed to continue for so protracted period, as important military operations proceeded elsewhere. The moment there was any thing like a real show of force (137) the rebels thought it best to surrender and their submission was facilitated by Major Impey and Shore "conceding nearly everything they wanted". The Governor General was of opinion that "conciliation has been carried to its utmost limit" but he 'would not regret' that, if the result would prove that the permanent pacification of the district had been effected. (138).

He was pleased to accord sanction to the pensions of Surendra Sai and his friends from the dates of their submission. (139).

The Governor General in Council in the Foreign department wrote on the 22nd November 1862, reporting to the Secretary of State for India, of the surrender of 'the Sambulpore rebel' Surendra Sai and the grant of pension to himself and his family. Her Majesty's Government learnt with satisfaction that 'Soorunder Sahai' had resigned all pretensions to the Guddee of Sambalpur and that the four years' rebellion had at length been brought to a close. In recommending the grants of pension, the officiating Commissioner of Cuttack observed that there had been a very strong desire among all influential people in the country to see the old dynasty restored and that instead of treating the feeling with contempt, the government should meet and conciliate it by placing the dynasty in a position of both comfort and respectability.

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(137). But the Mutiny ended in other parts of northern India in 1858. The conciliation was effected not by a show of force because R. N. Shore sent back Major Rattray even before the surrender of Surendra sai. Throughout 1862, the force at Major Impey's disposal was weak.

See Major Impey to Colonel Balmain, Commissioner, Chhatisgarh. 12th November 1863.

(138). Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department to Secretary Government of Bengal 13th November 1862.

(139). Under Secretary to the Government of India, Finance department to Chief Commissioner C. P. 22nd Nov. 1862 May

We find that Surendra Sai was granted pension by mistake from the 12th though his surrender took place on the 16th May 1862.

With reference to these considerations to the position of the Chauhan family and to the recent services of 'Oodant Sahai', Her Majesty's Government agreed to overlook the 'past conduct of Soorunder Sahai' and to confirm the grant of pension (140).

In the last para, Her Majesty's Government also considered that the services of Major Impey, the Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur, 'in procuring the submission' of those rebels and concluding those arrangements 'be entitled to commendation" (141).

For the time, the C. P. Government gave support to the conciliatary policy of Major Impey. The Commissioner of Chhatisgarh recommended that the village of Bargaon should be made over to Surendra Sai in part commutation of the pension of rupees 1200 lately granted to him by the Supreme Government (142).

Though the Chief Commissioner considered it inexpedient to substitute jageer in part payment of Surendra's pension, 'at the present moment', he admitted that Surendra Sai, a State pensioner was in no way disqualified from acquiring lands within the jurisdiction of the Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur. It was left to Major Impey's discretion to make over the village of Bargaon to Surendra Sai for a fixed period or in perpetuity (143).

But Surendra Sai's surrender did not restore tranquillity in the district. The lawless persons, called 'Choohars' now rallied under the leadership of Kamal Singh. They were mostly Gonds (144. Kamal Singh whose Zamindari was confiscated, declared his open defiance of the Government until the Chauhan dynasty was

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(140)' Secretary of State for India to the Governor General in Council 9th October 1862

(141, The Governor General desired that the last para of the despatch might be communicated to Impey.

J. T. Wheeler, Assistant Secretary to the Government of India to the Chief Commissioner, C. P. 27th March 1863.

(142). Commissioner of Chhatisgarh to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, C. P. 26th August 1262

(143). Secretary to Chief Commissioner to the Commissioner Chhatisgarh 9th October 1862

(144). "The whole of the northern side of the Barapahar hills is inhabited more or less by persons ever ready to join in any of the marauding expeditions which is likely to lead to easy acquisition of plunder'.

Report of Captain G. F. Stewart 24th September 1863.

restored in the person of Surendra Sai. Profession of allegiance to Surendra Sai became a convenient pretext for committing dacoities. Many outlaws now "truly or falsely gave out Kamal Singh as their leader" (145). Prominent among them were Mohan Singh and Salikram Bariha. Mohan Singh was a 'Jamadar' (close follower) of Surendra Sai. He had surrendered hoping that the village of Sohelo, which was formerly his, would be restored to him. Being disappointed he transferred his allegiance to Kamal Singh and commited atrocities.

Great things were expected from the visit of the Chief Commissioner by the people of Sambalpur.

In March 1863, Richard Temple, Chief Commissioner, paid his first visit to Sambalpur. Many influential persons of the district made a representation to the Chief Commissioner to the effect that they had been much inconvenienced by the introduction of the British system and that "final tranquillity would never exist at Sambalpur till a Chauhan be returned to the Guddee". But Temple refused to consider the question of the restoration of the Chauhans as the ruling power.

It is beyond doubt that Temple's summary rejection of the representation keenly disappointed the people of Sambalpur. Kamal Singh fully utilized the opportunity. His marauding bands committed great atrocities in the Bargarh subdivision. He openly declared his intention to inflict deadly punishment upon the Gauntias "who had given preference to the British rule" (146). From August 1862 Captain Stewart D. I. G. of Police, Chhatisgarh, was engaged in the suppression of the dacoities.

The State of the Raja of Patna "became liable to confiscation under the express order of the Chief Commissioner" for his failure to apprehend Salik Ram Bariha. Major Impey gave the 'Patna man' one more chance to save himelf by capturing Salik Ram Bariha (147).

J. N. Berill, the newly appointed Superintendent of Police, Sambalpur district, suspected Surendra of complicity with the dacoities committed by Kamal Singh. In May 1863 Malin Singh, a noted adherent of Kamal Singh, was captured by him. From him he

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(145). Report of Captain G. F. Stewart 24th September 1863.

(146). Major Impey to Colonel Balmain, Commissioner, Chhatisgarh November 1863.

(147). do do

got the information that "Surendra Sai still kept Kamal Singh and Kunjal Singh in arms in order that they may keep the Gauntias who were supposed to be in favour of the British rule in perpetual dread of being plundered or murdered" (148).

Berill also succeeded in procuring a palm leaf manuscript purported to be written by Kamal Singh to Major Impey, the contents of which showed that Kamal Singh took extraordinary interest in Surendra Sai's cause. Berill now came to the conclusion that Surendra was in league with the outlaws. But Major Impey did not apparently see the matter in the same light. He sent for Surendra and assured him that he felt convinced that "his name was being used by bad characters but he (the Deputy Commissioner) had implicit faith in him" (149).

Between May and July 1863, 12 dacoities were committed. Dayanidhi, a spy who had been regularly enlisted by Berill, now came with the information that Surendra Sai was participating "in the plunder that had been taken by the Dacoits". The spy, under instruction paid a visit to the house of Khagesvar Deo, nephew of Kamal Singh, at Bonda in the vicinity of the Bar pahar range. He reported that Surendra had been "plotting for a surprise rising and murder of Europeans" and that he would meet Kamal Singh at Bonda on an appointed day "to discuss the question of the Raj". Dayanidhi's information was found to be incorrect. Spies also reported that Surendra had written to the Zamindar of Loisinga asking him "to be prepared to rise at a moment's notice".

But Major Impey did not think that there were sufficient grounds for the arrest of Surendra Sai. He pointed out that if Surendra was conspiring "for murder and destruction extending to the persons of European officers" as reported by the spies, it seemed extraordinary that "these deeds would not be carried out at once" when the force at his disposal was weak; instead of being deferred; though it was known that additional Battalions were coming to Sambalpur from Cuttack (150).

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(148). Major Impey to Colonel J. B. Balmain Commissioner, Chhatisgarh 24th February 1864.

(149). do do

(150). Major Impey to Colonel Balmain, Commissioner Chhatisgarh 12th November 1863.

Nevertheless he decided to proceed towards the Barpahar range accompanied by an escort of 60 infantrymen, a dozen 'Sowars' and a contingent supplied by the Raja of Khariar. But inspite of his elaborate plan for the capture of Kamal Singh and Salik Ram Bariha, he did not succeed in apprehending them. The operations in the unhealthy jungle area told upon his health and he died in December 1863.

Impey's death gave the required opportunity to Berill and his spies. In December, a party of Raipur Police surprised the band of Kamal Singh who fled leaving their luggages, amongst which was found a letter addressed to Surendra Sai. "It put the finishing stroke to prove the treason of Soorunder Sahi" (151).

On the 19th January 1864, Major Cumberlege assumed charge as the Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur. Berill impressed him that "the surrender of Soorunder Sai and his relations in May 1862 was nothing but a blind and that he never for a moment abandoned the determination to risk everything for the guddee of Sambalpore" (152). Major Cumberlege at once fell with the plan of Berill to arrest Surendra Sai and his friends, and wrote for permission to the Commissioner of Chhatisgarh.

Cumberlege expressed the idea 'in justice' to the Police officers Captain Stewart and Berill that "the late Major Impey had been completely blinded by Soorunder Sai" (153 . After receiving the permission of Colonel Elliot, officiating Chief Commissioner of C. P., Cumberlege held a secret meeting with Captain Stewart and Berill and decided to arrest the following : Surendra Sai, and his two brothers, sons of Dhruva Sai, Khagesvar Deo and his two brothers;

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(151). Major Cumberlege to Col. Balmain, Commissioner, Chhatisgarh 24th February 1864.

According to this letter, purported to have been written by Kamal Singh to Surendra Sai, Kamal Singh agreed to come down on the full moon day of the month of Paus to have 'moolkat' with Surendra Sai, Druva Sai, Medhnu Sai, and Lal Baboo (Mitrabhanu Sai). He would take Khageswar and 400 men with him to Bargaon.

(152). Major Cumberlege to the Commissioner, Chhatisgarh 24th February 1864.

(153). do do

Lokanath Panda, Dharani Misra and Sirdakur Mallik, connsellors of Surendra Sai and lastly his son Mitrabhanu. Cumberlege waited for the return of Mitrabhanu from his father-law's house. He came back on the 22nd January 1864 and the plan for arrest was finalised on the 23rd January under complete secrecy, lest the men to be arrested would escape to the hills. The Police and a few Sepoys were informed only when the moment to strike had come.

At half past ten on the 23rd January night, having received the news that Mitrabhanu and Surendra Sai were at Bargaon, the following assembled at the house of the Deputy Commissioner; Captain Stewart, Berill, J. Walker, a resident of Sambalpur, Lt. Rideout and Dr. Grass, Civil Surgeon of Sambalpur. The whole party consisting of the European officers, Mohan Singh and a few trusted Sepoys proceeded stealthily along the river bed until they reached Surendra's house at Bargaon. The house was surrounded and the inmates were taken by surprise. Surendra was not found. (154) but Mitrabhanu was arrested. Dharani Misra, an adviser of Surendra Sai, was also arrested. The servants were placed under restraint lest they would give alarm to the persons whose arrests were still to be effected. Surendra Sai's house was searched thoroughly and some documents were seized. Dr. Grass was sent to seize Lokanath Panda. Captain Stewart, Lt. Rideout, Berill and Walker proceeded to Tallub, at a distance of seven miles, and arrested Udwanta Sai and Medhnu Sai. Then they pushed to Tubla, 5 miles further, to the village of Dhruva Sai, and there captured him, along with his sons, Berill and Cumberlege made off to Bonda, at a distance of 25 miles. Arriving there at dawn, they surprised Khagesvar Deo and his brothers. Khagesvar Deo was engaged in building a high wall around his premises. In his house, a few swords and materials for manufacturing gun powder were found.

The Deputy Commissioner, as tutored by Berill, insisted that the captured persons should be sent out of the district and stand their trial elsewhere. "There can be no doubt" he wrote "that these men have for a long time plotting to recover the Raj and that latterly they have come to the determination to break out in open rebellion" (155). He sent to the Commissioner of Chhatisgarh copies of three letters which were said to have been found at Bargaon from the house

(154). Surendra was subsequently arrested at his house at Sambalpur.

(155). Major Cumberlege to the Commissioner, Chhatisgarh 24th February, 1864.

of Surendra Sai (156). The Judicial Commissioner held that the letters were planted to prove that Surendra was in constant communication with the avowed rebel Kamal Singh. Cumberlege was opinion that the dacoities recently committed by Kamal Singh "were doubtlessly

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(156). Translation of palm-leaf letters found in Surendra Sai's house.

(1) From Kamal Singh and Kunjal Singh to Babu Surendra Sai "We write to-day that when you and Khagesvar were leaving us, your instructions were that we are to remain in rebellion till you were made Raja, and never to surrender. Ever since then we have acted as you desired and are doing so still. The Gauntias have written to us that they had petitioned for a Raja but that Impey Sahib had punished Pudnab and rejected the case. The Gauntias say that we should go down with 500 men, cross the river at Dhama and taking you from Bargaon, go up the hills and make a disturbance. When we have done this it will make the Hakims so confounded and worried, that they will be but too glad to give the country up to a Raja. Thus the Gauntias have written to us. The Gauntias are : Lokanath Panda, Mrutunjaya Panigrahi, Jagabandhu Hota, Pudnabh Guru and Trilochan Panigrahi etc.

The letter is dated 3rd December 1863

(2) From Kamal Singh and Kunjal Singh to Roop Rai
We are much pleased in reading the letter from Babu Surendra Sai which was brought to us by Ballu Rai. By this man we send a reply. Please deliver it to the Babu. He has written us requsting that 1000 or 1500 men be collected. When he comes here, we will soon assemble them. Every thing can be done, if the Babu comes in this Poos, to Manickgurh. Into this place, Manickgarh, no Saheb-Suba can ever get. If a Chauhan is not made the Raja, the country will become nothing but sand and stones. When the order to make him the Raja comes, the Babu can go down but not otherwise.

Dated 5 Poos, Wednesday Sambat 1920.

(3) From Kamal Singh and Kunjal Singh to Surendra Sai.

Surendra was asked to come to Manickgarh on the Poos Purnima day (January 4, 1864). His family was to be left at Koolna Ghati under the care of Medhnu Sai and Dhruva Sai. Surendra had been addressed as 'Malika' (Master).

The last two letters were written on the same day, 29th December 1863.

set on foot at the instigation of Soorunder Sai in order to keep the country in an unsettled state" (157).

The officiating Chief Commissioner of the Central provinces praised Major Cumberlege and Berill "for the succesful result of the final coup" under the management of the Europeans (158).

He also sanctioned deportation for trial at Raipur the following 15 persons; Surendra Sai, his three brothers, his son, four sons of Dhruva Sai, Khagesvar Deo and his two brothers, Lokanath Panda, Dharanidhar Misra and Sirdakur Mallik. On the 26th January 1864, the prisoners were sent to Raipur under the escort of a company of infantry commanded by Lt. Rideout (159).

On the resumption of Chief Commissionership, Richard Temple entirely concurred "with the propriety of arrest as ordered by Colonel Elliot" (160).

Subsequently, Jagabandhu Hota, Padmanabha Guru and Mrityunjay Panigrahi were apprehended and deported for trial (161). The Commissioner decided that those against whom sufficient evidence cannot be adduced, "would be deported as a political measure" (162).

A futile attempt was made to capture Kunjal Singh who was hiding in his brother's zamindari of Ghes. Major Cumberlege held

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(157). Major Cumberlege to the Commissioner, Chhatisgarh 24th February 1864.

(158). Captain H. Mackenzie, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, to Commissioner, Chhatisgarh 3rd February 1864.

(159). From the descriptive Roll of the prisoners who were sent to Raipur, we learn that Surendra Sai was aged 55 years and Mitrabhanu was aged 20 years at the time of their arrest.

(160). The Minute of the Chief Commissoner, forwarded to the Secretary, Government of India 23rd January 1865.

(161). Deputy Commissioner Sambalpur to Commissioner, Chhatisgarh, 1st Feb 1864.

(162) Commissioner, Chhatisgarh to Deputy Commissioner, Sambalpur, 11th February 1864.

Hathi Singh, Kunjal's brother, guilty of harbouring him, thus filling "his cup of iniquity to the brim" (163)

The C. P. Government thus reversed the policy of conciliation which was adopted by the Orissa officers, Major Impey and R. N. Shore; and decided to prosecute Surendra Sai, his relations and close associates for conspiracy to wage war. Under Section 35 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, the case was transferred from the Court of the Deputy Commissioner, Sambalpur to the Court of the Deputy Commissioner, Raipur.

The Secretary to the C. P. Government sent a report of the arrest of the accused persons to the Government of India. The Under Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, was directed to express the Viceroy and Governor General's satisfaction with the efficient manner in which the arrests were made (164).

The Commissioner of Chhatisgarh directed the Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur to prepare a compendium of case against the accused persons. The Deputy Commissioner asked the District Superintendent of Police to collect every scrap of evidence, "for until this is done, it will be impossible to decide under what section of the Penal code the prisoners should be tried" (165).

The Commissioner ordered to commit with as little delay as possible to the Sessions court, "the Sambalpore Political prisoners

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(163). Major Cumberlege to Col. A. H. Balmain Commissioner, Chhatisgarh 12th March 1864.

The Chief Commissioners wrote to the Commissioner, Chhatisgarh (who had forwarded the letter of Major Cumberlege on the 28th March) asking him to restrain Major Cumberlege's "zeal and desire for punishing the offenders" (21st April 1864). Hathi Singh was arrested and sentenced to 7 years transportation for harbouring his brother.

Major Cumberlege to Commissioner, Chhatisgarh 21st September 1864.

(164). Under Secretary, Government of India to the Chief Commissioner C. P. 22nd February 1864.

(165). Deputy Commissioner, Sambalpur to S. P., Sambalpur 3rd February 1864.

now in jail'', excepting the 'four lads' (sons of Dhruva Sai) (166). Captain F. A. Fuction, Deputy Commissioner, Raipur wrote to the Deputy Commissioner, Sambalpur, to send the prosecution witnesses and incriminating evidences to Raipur.

The charges against the accused persons were as follows :

1. preparing to wage war against the queen, during the months of December 1862 and January 1864 and previously thereto, under Section 109 of the Indian Penal Code.

2. Abetting the preparations to wage war against the queen during the above period, under Sections 109 and 123 of the Penal Code.

3. Concealing the existence of a design to wage war against the queen.

The Deputy Commissioner, Raipur, held Surendra Sai, Udwanta Sai and Khagesvar Deo guilty on the first charge and sentenced them to transportation for life with forfeiture of all their property. He held Dhruva Sai, Medhnu Sai, Lokanath Gauntia, Sirdakur Mallik, Mrityunjaya Panigrahi and Jagabandhu Hota guilty of the second and third charges and sentenced them to transportation for life with forfeiture of all their property. Minaketan, Mohan Deo, Dharani Misra and Padnabh Guru were found guilty of the third charge and sentenced to transportation for seven years. The judgment was delivered on the 24th June 1864.

The accused persons sent a petition of appeal to the Judicial Commissioner.

In the month of August 1864, John Scarlett Campbell, Judicial Commissioner, C. P. gave his judgment. He reversed the judgment of the Sessions Court and acquitted all the prisoners of the offences charged. In his opinion, the Police "unable to cope with Kamal Singh and other outlaws who were committing dacoities", thought the next best thing to do was to get punished those whom they considered to be the friends of the dacoits and accordingly got up this case without any real proof against the accused (167).

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(166). Commissioner Chhatisgarh, to Deputy Commissioner Raipur. 31st March 1864.

(167). J. S. Campbell, Judicial Commissioner C. P. to Charles. E. Bernard, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner C. P. 23rd August 1864.

In the judgement he strongly criticized the proceedings of the Sessions Court which he held, were "very far from being clear or satisfactory."

The judgment of the Sessions court, in his opinion, was "confused and wanting in point". The evidence recorded was lengthened out to a confusing extent by stories of what the witnesses heard from others, which compelled the Judicial Commissioner to analyse all the evidence. It was found out from the evidence that Surendra Sai considered himself ill-used in not getting the guddee of the Sambalpur State and that he went into rebellion against the Government during the Mutiny. He so remained in rebellion till May 1862 when he and certain of his followers took advantage of the amnesty offered and settled down with certain provision for their maintenance. But a party still remained in rebellion with Kamal Singh at its head. This party seemed to have been more professional free-booters or dacoits than rebels. About May 1863, a series of dacoities commenced in the Sambalpur district. The Police came to the conclusion that these outrages were perpetrated by Kamal Singh and his party, and were not so much acts of dacoities, as part of a scheme for raising the country against the British government, and getting the rule transferred to Surendra Sai. They concluded moreover that the outrages were instigated by Surendra Sai and his followers, and that he and they had made preparations for again taking to the jungle and raising the flame of rebellion.

The Police, then considering that they had sufficient evidence to go upon, made a sudden arrest of those they believed to be in the plot. Twenty four documents, rather translations of documents, were produced by the prosecution. But the Court saw no treason in most of these letters. One letter was said to be from Surendra Sai to the dacoit chief Kamal Singh, and was dated the 9th January 1863. It thanked Kamal Singh for sending a letter to Jeypore, the Raja of which alone could put the writer on the throne. The writer further informed Kamal Singh that if the people of Sambalpur would not succeed in making him Raja, he would assuredly join him at the time of Full moon (February 1863).

The Court held that the circumstances under which the letter was found, go far to lead to the assumption that it was genuine, but the proof that it was written by or at the orders of Surendra Sai was 'most meagre', An incriminating letter was found in Surendra Sai's house. It was addressed to him by the Raja of Jeypore. It first referred to an alliance of marriage between the two parties. It stated that their territories and property would be in common and

that they would assist each other as relations. The Raja offered him assistance in case he would fight against the British. He promised to give Surendra 50,000 rupees, 10 elephants and 5,000 men.

The Judge opined that the letter was a "most treasonable production". But he pointed out that the letter bore the date, 26th September, 1862, which was a year and half before the arrest and only some four months after Surendra's submission. He therefore concluded that the letter in all probability was a vague threat to fight. Had it expressed any real determination to fight, it was not likely that the Raja of Jeypore would have used such flamboyant language. "The result proved that the whole thing was of words, no action following".

The Court also scrutinized "the most important class of documents", the letters written by the 'outlaw chiefs' Kamal Singh and Kunjal Singh to Surendra Sai, dated the 3rd and 29th December 1863 and to Roop Rai dated the 29th December. Those three letters, the Court pointed out, referred to an organized plan of the prisoners, or at least some of them, for joining Kamal Singh's party and raising the country in rebellion. The Court pointed out that had these letters been genuine, they would have proved the guilt of the prisoners. But those letters were produced by the man in charge of Surendra's stable from the thatch of the roof, wrapped together in a bit of rag. The Court had no hesitation in expressing its opinion that those three documents were 'gross forgeries' produced weeks after the arrest of the prisoners, "to bolster up a case which was palpably weak".

All that could be made out from the documents taken collectively, was that the party of Surendra Sai was "by no means pleased with the abolition of native rule in Sambalpur". But these documents, did not "in the slightest degree prove that in December 1862 and January 1864, the said Soorender Sahi was making preparations to wage war against the queen".

The Court also discussed the evidence against Khagesvar Deo. Berill captured Khagesvar Deo and his brothers who were running a fortified wall round their house, in which some fire-arms besides swords and battle-axes were seized. The Court held that fact to be the only evidence in the case pointing to anything tangible in the shape of preparation for waging war. But it was pointed out that the number of weapons found in the house was not more than what would be found in a village in a wild country; and that the construction of a strong wall with loopholes was no proof that Khagesvar Deo and his brothers were making preparations for war.

The Court scrutinised the evidence of Berill. "Leaving what is mere here-say and what are merely ideas of the witness", it was found out that Berrill's evidence 'really accounts to nothing'.

According to the Court, the real facts appeared to be that the district of Sambalpur being distracted by dacoities and no head been made against the dacoities, the police came to the conclusion that the dacoits were encouraged by certain amnested rebels at Sambalpur, and being unable to cope with the dacoits, they attempted to get up a case against those whom they considered to be their friends. A search of their houses brought nothing incriminating but those who had accused them were not thus to be disappointed. "So weeks after the arrest of the suspected parties damning documents were produced, and witnesses brought forward to swear traitorous words". "That the Sessions Court should have accepted such evidence is much to be wondered at".

Though the Judicial Commissioner acquitted the prisoners, all of them were not released. Surendra Sai and six other prisoners (168) were detained under Regulation III of 1818 by the order of the Chief Commissioner (169). The Governor General in Council approved of the recommendation of the Chief Commissioner that Surendra Sai and other prisoners be confined under above Regulation, 'until the pleasure of the British Government'; and that their place of detention be Nagpore (170). His Excellency concurred with the Chief Commissioner that the conduct of the prisoners merited the forfeiture of the pensions granted to them in 1863 (171).

The Secretary to the Chief Commissioner wrote a letter to the Government of India, pointing out that "the Sambalpur district was perhaps the last district in India in which the embers of the disturbances of 1857 were finally stamped out". After a protracted and

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(168). They were Surendra's brothers Udwanta Sai, Dhruva Sai, Medhnu Sai; Surendra's son Mitrabhanu, Khagesvar Deo and Lokanath Panda. Medhnu "who had never rebelled" (Shore's letter to Government of Bengal dated 28th February 1862) was made a prisoner, because he was a brother of Surendra Sai.

(169). Secretary to Chief Commissioner to Secretary, Foreign department Government of India 23rd January 1865.

(170). Secretary, Foreign department, Government of India to Secretary to the Chief Commissioner 28th March 1865.

(171). Secretary, Foreign department, Government of India to Secretary to the Chief Commissioner 17th April 1865.

wearisome disturbance peace was restored in 1862. But in 1863, there broke out a series of outrages in various parts of the district under the general management of Kamal Singh, one of the outlaws who remained at large. But it was found out that the outrages were not common crimes but had a certain political purpose. Later in the year, there arose a suspicion that Surendra Sai and his friends were secretly encouraging those troubles. So the Chief Commissioner ordered their detention under Regulation III of 1818, inspite of their acquittal on appeal by the Judicial Commissioner as the principal Court of Appeal (172).

R. Temple, Chief Commissioner, wrote a Minute in justification of the detention of Surendra Sai and his companions. He admitted that the evidence adduced against those men was really insufficient to sustain the charges brought; and that, there was no other alternative but that of acquittal. The documents put in as evidence, though calculated to cause suspicion, were "not actually treasonable or anything like treasonable". Some of the documents, though conveying 'a clearly treasonable import', were by no means of proved authenticity. The way in which those papers were alleged by the persecution to have been found in the possession of the parties, was, in the last degree unsatisfactory; so bad indeed as to give rise to apprehension that far from being genuine, they were fabricated either by parties interested in the prosecution or else by some of the enemies of the prisoners. Thus it was that, on the whole, the documentry proof broke down.

The oral evidence, worthy of note, was that of Captain Stewart who went in disguise in company of Major Impey (173) to overhear

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(172). C. Bernard, Secretary to Chief Commissioner to Secretary, Foreign department, Government of India 23rd January 1865,

(173) Major Impey has referred to this conversation in his letter to the Commissioner, Chhatisgarh dated 12th November 1863. "The impression that has been founded on an overheard conversation of a spy with Khagesvar Deo", he wrote, and by other reports made by the same spy was that sudden insurrection was of "immediate imminence". But he concluded that "my confidence in the full realities of the conversation is somewhat shaken; and I see no movements or excitement in the district". Thus the treasonable conversation was concocted by the spy and translated by Mohan Singh, taking advantage of the ignorance in Oriya language of the European officers. The conversation took place in the middle of October 1863.

a treasonable conversation between Khagesvar Deo and the Informer. The Chief Commissioner agreed that the British officers understood Oriya imperfectly and that the evidence of Mohan Singh, who accompanied them should be received with extreme caution. But he pointed out that Khagesvar was employed by the Government "to collect information" and there was no doubt, morally, that Khagesvar did by this conversation show himself to be a traitor to the British government; and that "his presumable treason cast greatest suspicion on Soorunder Sai and immediate friends".

The Chief Commissioner admitted that the oral evidence was unsatisfactory, that the legal proof was defective and finally, that there was not even moral presumption that the prisoners "attempted or even contemplated the commission of overt or active treason".

He conceded that they were making an agitation "strictly of a peaceful character". They promoted representation to the Chief Commissioner for the restoration of the Native rule in the district. They took advantage of the troubles on the frontiers of the district, to petition to the Supreme Government for restoring peace by "establishing a Native dynasty in tracts where British rule was proved in its result to be unsuccessful". He was of opinion that the petition which was presented to him in March 1863 for the re-establishment of the Native rule in Sambalpur was instigated by Surendra Sai and his friends—though Major Impey at that time did not believe that Surendra Sai had done so.

It was certain that Surendra Sai and his party did, in the autumn of 1863, send a person named Kartick Babu to Calcutta for the purpose of presenting a petition to the Supreme Government. The Chief Commissioner observed that such facts were scarcely compatible with the supposition that the prisoners did not really contemplate anything like overt treason, in as much it was known that one of the grounds which the prisoners always alleged was the proved inability of the Government to establish peace in in the country.

He pointed out that probably Surendra Sai's intention was to convince the British authorities that the troubles would be over if only he were placed in power—while encouraging the outlaws beyond the frontier to get up a sufficient amount of disturbances so that he might ultimately join.

After making such observations, the Chief Commissioner disclosed the real reason for detaining the prisoners. He opined that the systematic raids on the wild frontiers were compassed by men, with whom the prisoners had once been closely connected and who had been

branded as rebels and outlaws. As it was proved that the prisoners had means of communication with them, it was likely enough that the prisoners had secretly and indirectly encouraged those outrages and troubles.

In his opinion there was no doubt "that their existence in Sambalpur was regarded by the outlaws and the followers as a possible rallying point and that the restoration of this party to power was looked on as an object worth fighting for. This is proved by the circumstances that after the arrest of Surendra Sai and his friends, "there has been no more troubles and no more outrages" (174).

The Chief Commissioner observed that though the prisoners were not guilty of treason, as defined by law, they were nevertheless guilty, from "a moral and political point of view". Although Surendra Sai, the head of the party, "had no claims whatever to the Chiefship of Sambalpore, yet he took advantage of the Mutinies to raise rebellion in Sambulpore," with a view of making himself chief of that territory. After long resistance, he and his brothers surrendered themselves to the British authorities on certain conditions aud were allowed subsistence allowances.

They were allowed to reside at Sambalpur under general surveillance. It was most clearly understood that they were in no way to agitate directly or indirectly. But they became parties to an agitation, which though ostensibly peaceful, and some might call it constitutional, nevertheless unsettled the minds of British subjects in Sambalpur. Though they denied at the time and successfully concealed their participation in that agitation, it had now been proved that they really were the instigators of that agitation. Thus they broke their agreement with the British government and forfeited any title, they might have for consideration.

The Chief Commissioner pointed out that the outrages of Kamal Singh were committed with a view to the restoration of a native rule of Sambalpur with Surendra Sai at its head. Even granted that Surendra Sai did not actually take a part in those affairs, still, as those deeds were done partly for his benefit, it was imposible to suppose that he did not in some way or other countenance them.

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(174). The Chief Commissioner quoted from a letter from the Inspector General of Police : "There occured altogether in the Sambalpur district, in 1863, 16 dacoities, the majority of which were committed by outlaws, instigated by Kowul Singh".

Further, it was proved that he possessed a highly suspicious and even dangerous paper purporting to come from the Raja of Jeypore. Even granting that it was not clear as to what transactions that paper alluded, still, the possession of such a paper, by a pardoned rebel, a pensioner on the bounty of the British Government, was itself improper.

He concluded that considering that the conduct of these men at Sambalpur have been partly the cause of the outrages being committed upon the frontier and of ferment within British territory, and that the peace of the district could never be secure while this condition of things lasted, it was considered necessary to detain those men.

The Minute of the Chief Commissioner is self-contradictory and he has deliberately distorted the facts to justify the conduct of Major Cumberlege who arrested Surendra Sai and his friends with the approval of Colonel Balmain during the Chief Commissioner's absence.

He pointed out that the existence of Surendra and his friends in Sambalpur was a possible rallying point for the outlaws. There may be some truth in his statement. But then the Government could have externed them from the district, instead of keeping them prisoners for life in a fort. Temple stated that there were no more outrages after their arrest and in support of his statement he quoted from the letter of the Inspector General of Police which showed that since the 15th of November 1863, there had not occurred a single major case of dacoity in the Sambalpur district. It is to be seen that out of 16 dacoities, 12 were committed during the three months, May, June, July 1863, when Kamal Singh fully exploited the feeling of disappointment after the departure of the Chief Commissioner from Sambalpur. The rainy season prevented any large scale operation against the outlaws. After July the entire Bar Pahar range was surrounded by a well connected chain of outposts and the number of dacoities appreciably diminished. Even in 1863 peace was partially restored by Impey by apprehending three 'Jamadars of Kamal Singh' named, Mahadeva, Goomaroo & Bijoy Raut (175).

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(175). Major Impey to Colonel Balmain, Commissioner, Chhatisgarh 12th November 1863.

The Chief Commissioner wrote that Surendra Sai had "no claims whatever" to the chiefship of Sambalpur. Unfortunately he had not consulted the official records before making such a statement. Major Impey admitted that the claims of Surendra Sai to the Guddee of Sambalpur "if it should have been maintained on the demise of Narayan Singh, had been officially recorded" (176).

Shore also pointed out that the family was "allowed by a Government order to stand next in succession to the Guddee" (177).

The Chief Commissioner wrote that Surendra was permitted to reside at Sambalpur under general surveillance and that it was clearly understood that he was in no way to take part in agitation. We know that no condition was imposed on Surendra's movement and very often he lived at Bargaon. Moreover Major Impey gave him to understand that he might submit any representation he liked after his surrender (178).

The Chief Commissioner was certain that the outrages of Kamal Singh were committed with a view to the restoration of native rule in Sambalpur and that Surendra in some way or other countenanced them. It is possible that Surendra Sai desired the unrest in the Sambalpur district to continue to serve his own purpose, but it will be wrong to hold him partly responsible for the outrages committed by Kamal Singh. The Court of Appeal held that the letters said to have written by Kamal Singh and Kunjal Singh to Surendra Sai in December 1863 were gross forgery. Lastly, the Chief Commissioner had referred to a "highly suspicious and even dangerous paper" purporting to come from the Raja of Jeypore though he was not sure "whether it referred to a time before or after the pacification of 1862". The letter clearly bore the date, the 20th September 1862. The learned Judge should have described the letter as a forged document.

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(176). Major Impey to R. N. Shore Commissioner, 14th February 1862.

(177). R. N. Shore to the Secretary to Government of Bengal, 25th February 1862.

(178). Major Impey to R. N. Shore, 17th December 1861.

The letter referred to an alliance of marriage between the Raja of Jeypore and Surendra Sai. But Surendra Sai's son was already married to a daughter of the Raja of Bonai. The Raja of Jeypore was stated to have intimated that their territories and properties would be in common and that he would send a force of 5000 men (which he hardly possessed) to assist Surendra Sai, who had no territory and little property. On enquiry, the Raja of Jeypore denied that he wrote such a letter to Surendra Sai.

The Chief Commissioner considered the possession of such a paper improper though he could not utilize it as an evidence of treason. Surendra alleged that the paper was planted in his house.

We are of opinion that Surendra only made constitutional agitation to get the Guddee of Sambalpur on the grounds of his claim which was once recognised by the Government and of the proved inability of the British authorities to establish peace in the district. The British Government which hanged his brother Ujjal Sai for participation in the insurrection had not only pardoned him, the chief rebel, but also provided the family with liberal pensions. So it was possible that they might restore the Guddee of Sambalpur to him. He could not realise that the British Government would never restore 'Rajwada' rule in Sambalpur at least for the sake of prestige. The conciliatory policy of Major Impey led him to believe that the authorities would one day be convinced of their mistake. That is why Surendra Sai did not respond to the overtures of Kamal Singh to join him, though Kamal Singh professed that his object was the restoration of the Chowhans. There were interested parties who informed Major Impey that Surendra had been conspiring with Kamal Singh to raise the flame of rebellion which Impey rightly disbelieved (179).

Definite evidence is lacking to prove that he maintained contact with Kamal Singh with a view to join him. He never gave up his claims to the Guddee and carried agitation to achieve his purpose. The Judicial Commissioner in his judgment referred to Surendra's "rebellious inclination, a thing hardly to be wondered at in one who had been in actual rebellion for four years".

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(179). Major Impey to Colonel Balmain, 12th November 1862.

Richard Temple's blunt refusal, during his visit to Sambalpur to consider the claim of Surendra Sai to the Guddee of Sambalpur, keenly disappointed Surendra Sai and his party. "They were doubtless at heart disaffected and in all probability rejoiced over the disturbances" (180) committed by Kamal Singh and his band. In the autumn of 1863, they sent an Agent to Calcutta to point out to the Supreme government that without the restoration of the Rajwada rule law and order cannot be established in Sambalpur.

In conclusion we agree with the decision of the learned Judicial Commissioner that Surendra Sai and his party "were in no way connected with the dacoities of 1863 or were making any plans to raise a fresh rebellion" (181).

Richard Temple in his Minute was true to the principle that Superior officers must back the subordinate British officers to maintain the morale of the administration. The conduct of the Police, in his opinion, was 'prompt and efficient', inspite of their "reception and production of some worse than worthless evidence". He praised Captain Stewart and Berill for their 'highly commendable work'. The way Major Cumberlege arranged for the arrest of the prisoners, he opined, was satisfactory and creditable.

It may be pointed out that Berill and Major Cumberlege took by surprise some persons who had surrendered on conditions of free pardon and restitution of property, and against whom no charges could be proved. Eighteen persons were sent for trial, out of which four were discharged and it was not found necessary even to detain seven of them arbitrarily by the Regulation III of 1818.

R. N. Shore in one of his letters wrote : "What I ever feared was that the unreconciled rebels might think that we were temporising the rebels until all the leaders had assembled, with a view of then wrecking our vengeance over the whole party. Men in their position would hardly understand how foreign such treachery would be to the British character" (182).

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(180). Campbell's Report on the Criminal administration in C. P. 1864, para 57.

(181). Judgment of the Judicial Commissioner.

(182). R. N. Shore to Secretary to Government of Bengal, 31st March 1862.

The publication of the Report on Criminal administration in 1864, embarassed the C. P. Government. The Raipur trial discredited the Police administration in the Sambalpur district. Major Cumberlege then admitted that he "never insisted that Soorunder Sai was preparing to wage war". Nor did he commit him for trial on that charge (183).

He also stated that "the apparently forged documents", fixing an outbreak on a certain date, never passed through his hands nor did he ever know of them "until after the case had been disposed of on appeal" (184).

Cumberlege strongly recommended that substantial reward should be given to the spy Dayanidhi Meher. This spy, a weaver by caste, assisted the Police, "at great personal risk", to bring to light, "the intrigues of Soorunder Sahi and his party to restore native rule at Sambalpur". Cumberlege pointed out that those intrigues were "signally frustrated by his timely arrest".

The Deputy Commissioner recommended that the villages of Talub and Tubla, so long enjoyed by Dhruva Sai and Udwanta Sai, should be bestowed upon Dayanidhi, in rent free tenure for his life, and that he should also receive a money reward of rupees two

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(183). Major Cumberlege to Commissioner, Chhatisgarh 10th June 1865.

But on the 24th February 1864, Cumberlege wrote to the Commissioner : "There is available evidence for holding a trial under section 122 of the Indian Penal Code (collecting arms with the intention of waging war against the Government) against the eighteen persons sent to Raipur".

(184). Major Cumberlege to Commissioner, Chhatisgarh 10th June 1865.

But on the 3rd February 1864, Cumberlege asked the Superintendent of Police to furnish him with the Memorandum showing in detail, the evidence that he had obtained "against each and all of the prisoners in question". Cumberlege forwarded one of these 'apparently forged documents' fixing the time of a meeting of Kamal Singh with Surendra Sai and his relations, to the Commissioner, Chhatisgarh on the 24th February 1864, as a proof of Surendra Sai's intrigues for the Guddee of Sambalpur.

thousand and a 'Neknami' (reputation with credit) Parwana under the seal of the Chief Commissioner (185).

Captain Nembhard, Commissioner of Chhatisgarh, 'cordially' supported Major Cumberlege's recommendations. To those, he added that Dayanidhi "be accorded a chair in the presence of European gentlemen" (186).

The Chief Commissioner made certain enquiries regarding Dayanidhi. Major Cumberlege became impatient and suggested that the Chief Commissioner should read his letter, "in which he had explained the nature of service rendered by Dayanidhi" (187).

Major Cumberlege was informed that the Chief Commissioner had refused to grant reward to Dayanidhi for assisting the Police (188). Major Cumberlege protested against his decision (189).

The Deputy Commissioner, Sambalpur, was informed that "he should bow to the judgment of his superior officer" and desist from further agitation in that matter (190).

But the official group at Nagpur supported Major Cumberlege and the Chief Commissioner had to revise his judgment. He recommended a 'donation' of rupees 800 each to Dayanidhi and Mohan Singh for their 'good services', and the bestowal upon Dayanidhi the village of Tubla (191). The Government of India accepted his recommendations.

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(185). Major Cumberlege to Commissioner, Chhatisgarh 18th March 1865.

But J. S. Campbell, Judicial Commissioner, in his judgment observed that "the Police was misled by Dhiannidhi".

(186). Commissioner Chhatisgarh to C. Bernard, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, C. P. 18th April 1865.

(187). Major Cumberlege to Commissioner, Chhatisgarh 13th May 1865.

(188). Secretary to Chief Commissionr, Central Provinces to Commissioner, Chhatisgarh 27th May 1865.

(189). Major Cumberlege to Commissioner, Chhatisgarh 10th June 1865.

(190). Secretary to Chief Commissioner to Commissioner, Chhatisgarh 27th January 1866.

(191). Secretary to Government of India to Chief Commissioner Central Provinces 14th February 1866.

Cumberlege recommended a grant of rupees one thousand to Police Inspector Mohan Singh (192).

The Inspector General of Police, C. P., also commended "the excellent service" rendered by Mohan Singh (193).

Mohan Singh was a relative of Rup Singh. He imitated the example of the late Rup Singh and sold his conscience. He was nothing but an Informer whom Berill promoted for doing dirty service (194). He was found 'not qualified' for the post of Police Inspector and was asked to resign.

We now return to the prisoners at Raipur.

The Chief Commissioner, in his Minute, next discussed the guilt of other prisoners. He held that Surendra's brothers and his sons, Khagesvar Deo and 'the confidential adviser' Lokanath Panda were 'more or less' guilty, specially Udwanta Sai. Considering that the conduct of those men at Sambalpur was partly the cause of the outrages, and of a certain sort of ferment within the British territory, it was found necessary to detain those men in custody, with the sanction of the Supreme Government, so as to secure the peace of the district. (195).

The prisoners were confined at Raipur, which is at a distance of 150 miles from Sambalpur. But the local authority at Sambalpur represented that those Political prisoners, if kept at Raipur, would be too near to their friends and there were suspicions of comunications of

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(192). Major Cumberlege to Commissioner, Chhatisgarh 18th March 1865.

(193). Inspector General of Police to Secretary to the Chief Commissioner 5th April, 1865.

(194). The Judicial Commissioner spoke of Mohan Singh as follows: "It is plain to the Court that this man had been the leading spirit in getting up this case and that he had evidently staked his reputation as a Police Officer on it". His evidence "to bring home guilt" to the accused persons was "of most untrustworthy nature"—

The judgment of the Judicial Commissioner, 23rd August 1864.

(195). C. Bernard, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department 23rd January 1865.

those friends with the prisoners, who, "entertain hopes of some escape or release". (196).

On the 19th November 1864, the seven Political prisoners were sent to Nagpur. "To prevent rescue", they were accompanied by a party of mounted Police and a company of infantry under a British officer (197).

It was supposed that accomodation for them could be found within the ramparts of the Sitabaldi fort. But this arrangement interfered with the comfort of the troops. So the prisoners were accomodated in a building which had been built for Police hospital But this building was also found unsuitable for the purpose of confining the prisoners. The I. G. of Police recommended that the prisoners be confined in the Asirgarh fort where good accommodation for such a purpose existed and where it would be comparatively easy to guard them. More over "at such a distance from their own country they would probably never entertain any idea of escape". The proposal was accepted by the Chief Commissioner. The prisoners were removed to the fort of Asirgarh between the months of January and June 1866.

After the detention of Surendra Sai, his brothers and sons, Khagesvar Deo and Lokanath Panda, the question of allowances to the dependents of those families was taken up. The Chief Commissioner held that the pensions granted to them when they surrendered should be stopped, as the prisoners, in his opinion, had forfeited claims to the pensions by their conduct. He also directed that enquiries should to be made into the status of the females and other helpless persons belonging to the families of Surendra Sai, Lokanath Panda and Khagesvar Deo (198).

Major Cumberlege, Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur; recommended that the Sai family be left to the enjoyment of the Mauza of Khinda, which was made over to Mitrabhanu Sai rent free for life by Major Impey in 1862. He found no valid claims to other villages,

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(196). C. Bernard to the Commissioner of Chhatisgarh
2nd November 1864.

(197). Commissioner, Chhatisgarh to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner 22nd November 1864.

(198). Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, to the Secretary, Government of India 17th January 1865

like Talub and Tubla, and he wanted to recommend those villages to "certain individuals who have done loyal services to Government in time of need" (199).

Thus the Sai Family suffered for the part they played for the liberation of Sambalpur. The Deputy Commissioner admitted that the income of the Mauza Khinda and of the land attached to it did not exceed eight hundred rupees per annum. But he considered that 'ample provisions' had been made for the family, which was getting a pension of more than five thousand rupees per annum.

Khagesvar Deo and his brothers forfeited their hereditary title to the village of Bonda on the ground that the family "has the worst name throughout the district "and the three brothers are "bad characters" (200). No provision was made for the wife and daughters of Lokanath Panda.

In 1866 Surendra Sai, his brothers and sons, Khagesvar Deo and Lokanath Panda sent a petition to the Governor General in Council from the Nagpur Jail, through their attorney, M. T. Pearson. They pointed out that they had been confined in the Nagpur jail for more than twelve months under the provisions of Regulation III of 1818; "without any offence against the laws of the Country" and as the petitioner believed, "at the instigation of Mohan Singh an Inspector of Police and others". The Petitioners submitted that they were actually tried and acquitted of the offences for which they had since been detained in custody. Such detention was not according to law for the preamble of the Regulation III only authorized the detention of person not tried by the law, against whom there might not be sufficient grounds for any judicial proceedings.

The Petitioners were not aware of the reason of their detention. They had been tried for certain offences of which they were falsely charged and had been acquitted. They therefore prayed the Governor General to release them from custody or to inform them the grounds of their detention (201).

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(199). From Deputy Commissioner, Sambalpur to Commissioner Chhatisgarh 11th February 1865.

(200). But Major Impey with Colonel Balmain's sanction "trusted" Khagesvar Deo aod "employed him to collect information" Chief Commissioner's Minute.

(201). M T. Pearson, Attorney, to the Assistant Secretary Government of India, Foreign department 23rd January 1866

The Assistant Secretary to the Government of India. informed the Attorney that the confinement of tha Petitioners had been sanctioned by the Governor General in Council who saw "no reason for modifying the orders". In the copy of that letter, the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces was requested to report whether he would suggest any probable time to the detention of the Petitioners (202).

The Chief Commissioner regretted that he could not foresee "any immediate or even early prospect" of his being able to recommend the release of those persons "consistently with the maintenance of peace" in the district of Sambalpur. He again repeated that since their removal, the district of Sambalpur had enjoyed a remarkable degree of tranquillity. Secondly, in the fort of Asirgarh, where they had since been removed, the prisoners were allowed as much liberty and fair indulgence as was compatible with their safe custody.

The Chief Commissioner pointed out that the petitioners raised an objection as to the illegality of their detention on the ground that they had been already acquitted judicially of the charges upon which "they are now detained". In his opinion that statement was incorrect and tha the petitioners were then confined under specific law which had been put into force upon grounds different altogether from those on which they were originally charged. He observed that throughout the detailed report of the circumstances of this affair which had been submitted to the Supreme Government, that distinction had been carefully maintained (203).

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(202). J. T. Wheeler, Assistant Secretary to the Government of India to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner C. P. 2nd February 1866.

(203). From the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner C. P. to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign department—26th June 1866. But in the detailed note no where the specific grounds tor detention had been mentioned.

In the Preamble of the lengthy Minute of the Chief Commissioner dated the 23rd January 1865 it had been simply stated that the prisoners were confined by the order of the Supreme Government on the recommendationt of the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces. The charges against the prisoners seem to be that they were considered to be 'dangerous characters' and their indefinite detention was considered necessary for the tranquillity of Sambalpur (Major Cumberlege's letter to Commissioner, Chhatisgarh dated 18th March 1865),

Kamal Singh "on whose head" a reward of rupees two thousand was set (204) wss arrested and sent to the fort of Asirgarh to take the place of Lokanath Panda, who died or was released before 1871.

In 1871 the Chief Commissioner enquired whether some of the prisoners could be released. Cumberlege, then a Colonel, was the Commissioner of Chhatisgarh at that time. He was absolutely against the release of four of the prisoners. He pointed out that Surendra Sai and Udwanta Sai "had been desperate characters" and in his opinion "deserve no mercy". He was sure that they would take the first opportunity of rebelling again if they were set free, which would have "the very worst effect", upon the zamindars of Sambalpur and surrounding Feudatory States. He pointed out that Kamal Singh "remained in outlawry" by the order of Surendra Sai "after his mock surrender". Khagesvar Deo was a dangerous man. Thus, the release of those persons would disturb the peace of the country (205)

Medhnu Sai died in prison. In 1876, the question of the release of the prisoners was again taken up. The Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur considered that on no account, Surendra, Udwanta, Kamal Singh and Khagesvar Deo who were "confined in the Fort of Asserghar" be released; but time had come when Dhruva and Mitrabhanu might be released under certain restrictions (206).

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(204). Colonel Cumberlege to Secretary to Chief Commissioner 20th May 1871.

Unlike Kamal Singh, Kunjal Singh and Salik Ram Bariha were confined in the Sambalpur jail. The Chief Commissioner authorized the detention of Kunjal Singh "if he be acquitted of charges brought against him". Salik Ram Bariha was also directed to be detained—"should he be released on appeal" (Secretary to Chief Commissioner. C. P. to Commissoner, Chhatisgarh 20th January 1865)

(205). Col. Cumberlege to the Secretary to Chief Commissioner 20th May 1871.

It may be pointed out that Kunjal Singh and Salik Ram Bariha were arrested shortly after the trial and detention of Surendra Sai. Kamal Singh was captured after 1866. Though all the law breakers were captured, Cumberlege repeated the pretext, for the continued detention of Surendra Sai.

(206). Captain Borie, Deputy Commissioner, Sambalpur to Col. Cumberlege Commissioner, Chhatisgarh 24th April 1876.

Colonel Cumberlege recommended that Dhruva Sai and Mitrabhanu might be released provided they would give undertaking for good conduct and that they would not enter the Sambalpur district (207).

Consequently, the Chief Commissioner sanctioned the release of Dhruva Sai and Mitrabhanu. The Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur wrote to the Commissioner of Chhotnagpur to ask the Raja of Bonai to furnish a security to the amount of Rs. 5000 for the future good conduct of Mitrabhanu Sai (208).

Mitrabhanu and Dhruva were brought to Nagpur in November 1876, and were sent to the Sambalpur jail. They were released from the jail on the 1st January 1877, on the occasion of Queen Victoria's assumption of the title of Empress of India, and were immediately externed from the district of Sambalpur. The Raja of Bonai took Mitrabhanu to his State. Dhruva accompanied him. The Raja subsequently made a petition to the Commissioner of Chhotanagpur for being freed of the obligation to keep Mitrabhanu in his State and to allow the latter to return to his native place. The application was rejected.

In 1889, Krishnapriya Devi, wife of Mitrabhanu, and in 1902 Mitrabhanu himself made petitions to the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces to allow him to return to Khinda. But the petitions were rejected. After the transfer of the district of Sambalpur to Bengal, Krishnapriya Devi sent another petition. (209). The Government of India accepted the recommendation of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal and allowed Mitrabhanu to return to Khinda.

We have no records regarding the last days of Surendra Sai. It appears that the last hero of the Freedom Movement of 1857 did not come out alive from the fort of Asirgarh. (210).

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(207). Col. Cumberlege to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner 1st May 1876.

208). Deputy Commissioner, Sambalpur to the Commissioner Chhotanagpur, 11th August 1876.

(209). From Secretary, Foreign Department, Government of India to the Chief Secretary, Government of Bengal, 12th January 1907.

(210). Shri. S. C. Varma, Deputy Commissioner, Khandwa has informed us that there is no prison register of the Asirgarh fort in the district head-quarters and the records regarding the Asirgarh fort at Khandwa office do not make any reference to Surendra Sai.

A REVIEW

Surendra Sai has been generally ignored by scholars who think that the rising in Sambalpur forms no part of the Indian Mutiny. His name finds only a bare reference in the Government of India publication, *Eighteen Fifty-Seven*. It is a pity that Surendra Sai fought in one obscure corner of Orissa. The history of the Indian Mutiny is a history of the incidents in North Bihar, Oudh, Delhi and Malwa in 1857-58. Sambalpur has no place in the list.

The Mutiny was to a great extent a war between the rebellious Sepoys, trained and armed by the British, and the British forces. Nana Sahib, Kunwar Singh and the Rani of Jhansi professed loyalty to the British but they became rebel leaders due to circumstances. If they are martyrs Surendra Sai also is a martyr.

Though the Mutiny in Upper India collapsed in 1858, it continued in the Sambalpur district up to 1862. As the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces, pointed out : "The Sambalpur district was perhaps the last district in India, in which the embers of the disturbances of 1857 were finally stamped out." (footnote No. 172). The Talukdars of Oudh fought for their king, taking advantage of the rebellion of the Sepoys. But the Sambalpur rising was a popular movement. The backward tribe, the Gonds, joined the Caste Hindus to restore the old order in Sambalpur. With primitive weapons like bows and battle-axes and with country-made match-locks the men of Surendra Sai fought against the British troops equipped with muskets and howitzers.

Surendra Sai fought for his claims to the ancestral throne, and suffered incarceration for about 32 years. We pay him the tribute which Malleson has paid to Ahmadullah, Maulavi of Fyzabad : "If a patriot is a man who plots and fights for the independence, wrongfully destroyed, of his native country, then most certainly Surendra Sai was a true patriot" (*History of the Indian Mutiny* Voi. II p. 541).

III. BRITISH ORISSA DURING THE MUTINY

The Mutiny which broke out at Meerut on the 10th May 1857, had its shadow cast on the three districts of [redacted] The Commissioner, Cuttack, was summoned to Calcutta for consultation (211). The civil authorities in Orissa took precautionary measures. The guard at Puri Treasury was strengthened (212).

The Magistrate, Cuttack, requested the Officer commanding Cuttack to furnish guards to the Cuttack jail. The Officer Commandin agreed to lend the services of the Madras troops "to support the civil power in the preservation of order, promptly assisting in any disturbance or attempt at violence" (213).

There was every reason to believe that some of the Sepoys of the disbanded 19th and 34th B. N. I. would visit Puri during the Car festival. G. F. Cockburn, Commissioner, thought it probable that some of them might endeavour to gain admission into the Orissa Paik companies. He advised the Magistrates of the three districts against the enlistment of such persons and their immediate dismissal. The District Magistrates were asked to exercise greatest caution in recruiting men. In his opinion, it was better "to summarily reject than to run the risk by enlisting unfaithful persons who might corrupt their comrades" if admitted into the Paik companies (214). This warning was necessary, because some Paiks were going to be dismissed for 'misconduct and disobedience of orders' (215).

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(211). A. S. Anand, Magistrate, Puri to R. N. Shore, Magistrate Cuttack 25th May 1857.

(212). A. S. Anand, Magistrate, Puri to R. N. Shore, Magistrate Cuttack 25th May 1857.

(213). Officer commanding Cuttack to Magistrate, Cuttack 30th May 1857.

(214). Officiating Commissioner to Magistrate, Puri 26th May 1857.

(215). G. F. Cockburn to the Secretary, Government ot Bengal, 30th May 1857.

The Paiks at Balasore demanded more pay because of their strenuous work. Some of them refused to proceed to Cuttack for the purpose of being sent to Sambalpur. Cockburn held that the dissatisfaction among the Paiks at Balasore was due to the machinations of of wicked persons, and intimated that unless they would carry out the orders of the Commandant, "they must be discharged". In that case, prompt and decisive measures must be taken to disarm them (216). As the Car festival was approaching, the Commissioner advised the Magistrate of Puri to warn the Thana and Road Police to become alert and to keep watch over the disbanded Sepoys going to Puri, who would probably be armed and might commit outrages (217).

The Magistrate of Puri reported that about fifty disbanded Sepoys came to Puri, and excepting three or four, all had gone away. "The Pundahs of the temple, with whom they resided had been held responsible for the conduct of the men during their stay at Puri" (218).

The Government of India had no definite policy regarding the movement of the disbanded Sepoys. At first it was decided to restrict the movements of such Sepoys. The Magistrates were instructed to expel such Sepoys if they enter their districts and to treat them as persons of suspicious character in the event of any disobedience of order (219).

Subsequently, the order was modified as it was thought that the disbanded Sepoys were innocent in the eyes of law, and any such restriction might be given the colouring of religious persecution (220).

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(216). Commissioner, Cuttack to Magistrate, Balasore 6th June 1857.

(217). Circular of the Commissioner, Cuttack 27th May 1857.

(218). G. F. Cockburn to the Secretary, Government of Bengal 6th June 1857.

(219). Circular No. 733 of the Judicial department 10th June 1857.

(220). Cockburn, acting according to the instruction of the Government, directed the Magistrate of Cuttack not to detain the Sepoys of the disbanded 19th and 34th Bengal Native Infantry (Letter dated the 23rd June 1857).

The Magistrate of Balasore was doubtful about the wisdom of allowing such persons to pass through 'peaceful tracts at a time when all was not well in the country'. Cockburn supported him and sought a fresh direction from the Government of Bengal (Letter dated the 12th December 1857).

The Lieutenant Governor of Bengal proposed that the Magistrates of the districts of Bengal be authorized to arrest persons who were suspected to be deserters or mutineers and to sentence them to death after summary trial, if proved guilty (221).

The Commissioners were directed to furnish 'in connection with the revolt of the native troops', a narrative of events that may occur in one of the provinces of the Presidency in connection with the revolt and also to inform about the effects of the revolt on civil administration of each district, the temper of the people and the general condition of the country (222).

The Secretary to the Government of Bengal directed all Magistrates to despatch directly every week a report on the 'state of popular mind' in the district. He also requested the Commissioners to inform the Magistrates under their jurisdictions about the sections III and IV of Act No. XVIII which was passed on the 20th June 1857. These sections empowered any Police officer to apprehend without warrant any person on reasonable suspicion that he was a mutineer or deserter from the Native Regiments, and to produce him before the Magistrate of the district.

The Commissioner intimated this fact to the Magistrate of Cuttack, asking him to issue necessary orders to his Police subordinates for the arrest of every person, ascertained or supposed to have belonged to a Regiment which had been 'guilty of a Mutiny' or to have deserted from the army (223).

He asked the Magistrate of Cuttack to take immediate steps to notify a reward of rupees fifty for the apprehension of every deserter. He also expressed his readiness to sanction a similar amount or even more for apprehending the mutineers. He observed that any deserter coming along the main road of the Division should at once be arrested (224).

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(221). Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Secretary, Government of India, Copy forwarded to the Commissioner. Cuttack 20th June 1857.

(222). Secretary, Government of India to the Secretary Government of Bengal. Copy forwarded to the Commissioner, Cuttack 15th June 1857.

(223). G. F. Cockburn to the Magistrate, Cuttack 23rd June 1857.

(224). G. F. Cockburn to the Magistrate, Cuttack 24th June 1857.

The Commissioner informed the Magistrate of Puri that "several Sepoys lately belonging to the Bengal army" had recently been discovered in North Eastern districts of Madras Presidency, which has given rise "to apprehension of their intending to create dissatisfaction against the Government". He thought it probable that a few deserters or mutineers from the army might attempt to pass down the main road to Puri or to other parts of Orissa (225).

Cockburn intimated the Secretary to the Government of Bengal that there were upwards of 100,000 pilgrims that year during the Car festival at Puri. He suggested that strong pickets should be established at every important place for the purpose of arresting deserters and mutineers (226). There was justification for his apprehension. From Barrackpore 125 Sepoys deserted from the 43rd N. I. and 8 from the 70th N. I. (227). Three Sikhs were found going to Hyderabad. The Magistrate of Ganjam sent to them back to the Magistrate of Cuttack who was requested to make them over to the Magistrate of Balasore, on their way to Calcutta for interrogation (228).

Cockburn now asked the Magistrates of Cuttack and Puri to take prompt measures to ensure the stoppage of every man who was or might have been a soldier. Immediately on his arrival at Cuttack or Puri the Magistrates should examine his certificates to ascertain the correctness of his statements. The Sepoy was required to record his name, the name of the Regiment, his destination and the extent of his leave, if he is still in service. The Commissioner asked the Magistrates to detain all persons, reasonably supposed to be Mutineers or desprters, as provided by Act XVII of 1857. Such Sepoys who had overstayed their leaves or discovered in places other than those for which leaves were granted, were also to be apprehended and handed over to the nearest military authority (229).

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(225). G. F. Cockburn to the Secretary to Magistrate, Puri 25th June 1857.

(226). G. F. Cockburn to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, 29th June 1857.

(227). Secretary to the Government of India to the Secretary Government of Bengal 25th June 1857.

(228). Magistrate, Ganjam to Magistrate, Cuttack 16th July 1857.

(229). G. F. Cockburn to the Magistrates, Cuttack and Puri 17th & 18th July 1857.

The Commissioner approved the action of the Magistrate of Ganjam who arrested three Sikhs on suspicion and observed that such doubtful characters should never be allowed to wander about the country at that critical time (230). Three Sepoys previously belonging to the 34th B. N. I. were arrested on their way to Ramesvaram by the District Magistrate of Ganjam. The Magistrate of Cuttack was asked to arrange guards within his district in order that they might be taken back to Bengal to be delivered to the military authorities (231). Four Sepoys named Jenaram, Dewan Singh, Mathija Singh and Govindaram were apprehended at Parlakimedi by Captain Nichols, officer commanding that area. It was found that three of them were upcountrymen and were serving in Bengal regiments. The men stated that they were going to Jeypore to try for service under the Raja. In the opinion of the District Magistrate of Ganjam, 'it was not advisable to allow them to go further south', and he sent them to the Magistrate, Cuttack, 'to dispose them in proper manner' (232). Three men, formerly belonging to the 34th B. N. I. were sent back to Balasore to be sent to Barrackpore for interrogation (233). They were to be sent home under Police surveillance.

The Magistrate, Ganjam, sent Balakrishna Chauhan and two other Sepoys of the disbanded 34th B. N. I. to Cuttack. They were sent to the military authorities in Calcutta 234). He again sent a man named Sonaram and his wife under arrest on the ground that the former was a Sepoy in the 49th regiment (235). Six persons were again sent to Cuttack, to be compared with any descriptive roll that the Magistrate of Cuttack might have possessed of persons who took part in the Mutiny. These persons, though professed to be beggars, looked well-fed (236). Even during the peak months of the Mutiny,

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(230). Commissioner, Cuttack, to the Magistrate, Cuttack 29th July 1857.

(231). Commissioner, Cuttack to the Magistrate, Cuttack 18th July 1857.

(232). Magistrate, Ganjam to the Magistrate, Cuttack 7th September 1857

(233). Magistrate, Ganjam to the Magistrate, Cuttack 3rd November 1857

(234). Commandant, Fort William to the Magistrate, Cuttack 8th Decemder 1857

(235). Magistrate, Ganjam to the Magistrate, Cuttack 4th January 1858.

(236). Magistrate, Ganjam to the Magistrate, Cuttack 6th February 1858

a large number of Sepoys came from Bengal to Puri. During the months, August to November 1857, one hundred and sixty-seven Sepoys from the 63rd regiment at Berhampore and five from the 73rd regiment at Jalpaiguri came to Puri (See Appendix). Six discharged Sepoys of the 70th regiment also visited Puri. All Sepoys, whether on leave or discharged, were thoroughly searched by the Police at Puri and their movements were carefully watched as long as they stayed at Puri (237). The Officer commanding the Paik company discharged a Sepoy who was a new recruit. Previously he belonged to the 19th regiment which was disbanded at Barrackpore. He came on pilgrimage to Puri and was recruited there. The Officer commanding asked the Magistrate, Puri, not to recruit upcountrymen, because it would not be possible to know their antecedents (238).

The Magistrate of Puri was vested with powers under Section I of Act XVII of 1857 to try mutineers and deserters.

Strict watch was kept on all religious mendicants and vagrants who might be Sepoys under disguise. The Magistrate, Ganjam, sent to the Commissioner, Cuttack, three mendicants, Karim Bux, Haji Najaff and Bholanath Bairagi for identification (239). The Commissioner, Cuttack directed the Magistrate, Cuttack, to make enquiries about three 'Fakirs' who were suspected to be "rebels in disguise". In case they could not be proved to be ex-Sepoys, they were to be treated as vagrants and persons of suspicious character (240).

Two 'Bairagis' were arrested within the Cantonment area of Cuttack. The Magistrate, Cuttack, wished for 'abundant proof for hanging them' (241). As it did not appear from the records that they were ex-Sepoys or had in any way tampered with the Sepoys at the Station he ordered them to find security for their good behaviour for

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(237). Magistrate, Puri, to the Magistrate, Cuttack, 24th July 1857.

(238). Officer Commanding Cuttack to the Magistrate, Puri, 31st May 1857.

(239). Commissioner, Cuttack to the Magistrate, Cuttack, 5th September 1857.

(240). Commissioner, Cuttack to the Magistrate, Cuttack, 12th December 1857.

(241). Magistrate, Cuttack to the Commissioner, Cuttack, 19th December 1857.

a year or in default to be imprisoned for that period in the jail with part labour. The Magistrate of Ganjam continued to show great zeal in combing out his district in search of suspicious characters. He sent two men who appeared to have belonged to Sambalpur. He thought that they had marks of iron on their legs (242). The Magistrate of Cuttack released them as he could not trace any such marks of iron on their legs (243).

The Magistrate of Ganjam informed the "Magistrate of Puri that he had detained a number of 'Bairagis' pending proper identification (244).

He sent to the Magistrate of Puri, for disposal one Premadas, an inhabitant of Kanpur. His statement was doubted because he talked in Oriya (245). He detained two religious mendicants and sent them to Cuttack for interrogation (246). They were subsequently released. Several men were detained as vagrants in the Madras Presidency (247). They were sent to Cuttack for investigation.

Many 'Yogis' and 'Bairagis' were unnecessarily harrassed by the Police though they were let off, when their identity was established. Three 'Yogis' Akrurnath, Hiranath and Durganath were detained on suspicion, while loitering near the military lines at Cuttack. It was reported by the Police that Durganath was enquiring about the strength of the army at Cuttack. He threatened to kill the Sepoy who arrested him and also "all the Topiwallahs" at the station. Against Akrurnath there was no evidence except that he was a suspicious looking person. Another cause of suspicion against the party was that they were in possession of a large quantity of clothes and that of a kind that none but the richer class of Indians wore. They had also in their possession some money and gold and silver ornaments. They were produced before the Assistant Magistrate.

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(242). Magistrate, Ganjam to the Magistrate, Cuttack, 7th January 1858.

(243). Magistrate, Cuttack to the Commissioner, Cuttack, 1st February 1858.

(244). Magistrate, Ganjam to the Magistrate, Puri, 23rd January 1858.

(245). Magistrate, Ganjam to Magistrate, Puri 26th March 1858.

(246). Magistrate, Ganjam to Magistrate, Cuttack 23rd January 1858.

(247). Commissioner of Police, Madras to the Magistrate Ganjam 12th October 1857.

Though he did not consider the case against accused persons to be strong enough "to punish them for treason", he forwarded the case to the Magistrate, with the recommendation that they should be punished as 'Budmashes.' If the Magistrate would consider it to be an extreme measure, he proposed to send the accused persons to their native place, under the charge of Burkandazes, causing them to pay their own expenses (248).

The Magistrate of Cuttack informed the Commissioner that he had kept a list of all upcountrymen, since the commencement of the Mutiny, who were passing through Cuttack. Their number was 292 in the month of July 1858. Out of them 74 were 'Byragees' and the rest were pilgrims.

The Magistrate was of opinion that no evil motive could be imputed to them as they were on pilgrimage to Puri to attend the Car festival. The only precaution he considered necessary was to examine all upcountrymen, in order to be sure that they were not carrying arms. He also added that their names were registered for future reference (249). Due to the restrictions imposed by the authorities, the number of pilgrims in 1858 was small. The Sepoys were not allowed to attend the Car festival that year.

The Commissioner asked the Magistrate of Puri to visit various parts of the Khurda estate. "Remembering the lawless state of Khoordah in former times "the Magistrate was advised to proceed to Banpur and to conciliate the people by redressing their grievances (250). He apprehended no trouble now, "as the 'leaders of the insurrection died or had been transported" (251)

The Commissioner ordered the zamindars to surrender their arms, ammunitions, cannons and sulphur in their possession, within seven days. He assured them that there was no intention whatever of calling them to account for having these articles in their possession. But he made it clear that any concealment or neglect in complying with the instructions would severely be dealt with (252).

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(248). Assistant Magistrate to Magistrate, Cuttack 13th December 1857.

(249). Magistrate, Cuttack to the Commissioner 10th August 1858.

(250). Commissioner to the Magistrate, Puri 27th Nov. 1857.

(251). do 21st December 1857.

(252). Commissioner to the Magistrate, Cuttack 2nd November 1857,

Cockburn received an anonymous petition against the Raja of Kujang. He sent a 'Jamadar' who traced a considerable quantity of ammunitions (20 maunds of gun powder, about 12 maunds of sulphur and 3400 bullets) in a shed in an almost inaccessible place within a jungle. But the quantity appeared to be old stock. The military aufhorities considered the gun powder to be useless and it was thrown away into the river. The amount of sulphur was disposed away by sale. The Raja of Kujang was fined rupees 500 for keeping unauthorized ammunitions though it could not be proved that he had any treasonable designs (253). The officiating Magistrate of Puri took alarm on the report that a servant of the Raja of Ranpur has been found with 'a number of arrow shafts' in his possession and suggested that troops should be sent into his territory. Cockburn did not consider it to be necessary (254).

Cockburn apprehended that even before the final suppression of the Mutiny, lawless bands would infest Orissa. The Magistrate of Balasore reported to 'him that a party of twenty upcountrymen, who appeared from their certificates to have been discharged from a disbanded Native Infantry, has passed Balasore. The Magistrate proposed to inform such parties of upcountrymen that the road was not open to them. The Commissioner approved the proposal of the Magistrate and brought the matter to the notice of the Lt. Governor. He observed that these men having been discharged were, in the eyes of law, free agents and at any other time, any interference would not be justifiable. But in his opinion there could be no reason to doubt that those twenty men and nearly all their comrades of the same or other disbanded regiments of the Bengal N. I. were "disaffected and dangerous persons", whose movements should be restricted. If soldiers "whether disbanded, discharged or deserters" he wrote, "are allowed to go about in gangs or parties, small or great, and inocculate the people with their mischievous and wicked doctrines", they would not miss the opportunity of stirring up disaffection wherever they could (255).

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(253). Magistrate, Cuttack to the Commissioner
15th October 1857

(254). G. F. Cockburn to the Secretary, Government of Bengal
27th January 1858.

(255). G. F. Cockburn to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal
12th December 1857.

It was anticipated that on the pretence of paying a visit to the 'shrine of Jugernath', a considerable number of persons of soldier class might seek to escape from the "deserved punishment" in the disturbed districts. They might indulge in lawless activities "to embarass the Government". His Honour was informed that the number of troops commonly maintained for the protection of Cuttack province and the Tributary Mahals was very small, "while a great proportion of this small number has been sent on duty to Sumbalpore". (256). Thus it would be difficult to prevent "very serious acts of violcnce" in case, the parties of the Mutineers were allowed to collect together.

Cockburn also referred to the case of another unlawful assembly. Captain Sweeny of the 32nd M. N. I. was travelling up the right bank of the Mahanadi towards Sambalpur. He reported that he had come across a party of 30 men whom he recognized to be Sepoys, who were armed with muskets. Cockburn pointed out that those men were probably "leaving their arms in concealment and proceeding to Jugernath".

He apprehended that by joining the twenty men coming from Balasore they might form a gang and attack a treasury. They would be joined by other lawless persons. Thus they would be able to commit outrages with impunity, which the local Police or Paiks with their inadequate strength would not be able to check.

In a previous letter, he had already pointed out that "on the dispersion of the rebels upcountry" many of them would proceed towards Puri and "finding an insurrection going on in Sumbalpore" would join it. For all these reasons he suggested that the road to Jugernath might be closed to all upcountrymen and to persons appearing to be suspicious characters. (257).

The Government of Bengal agreed with his idea that the rebels might spread mischief by going about in the disguise of mendicants, or 'faqueers', "spreading false reports with a view to excite alarm and disaffection against the Government". The Lt. Governor desired to draw the attention of the Commissioner so that he might instruct the

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(256). Cockburn wrote to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal on the 3rd June 1857 that there were only one company of (Madras) regiment of Infantry and one company of Native Artillery at Cuttack, besides the corps of Orissa Paik Company.

(257). G. F. Cockburn to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal 12th December 1857.

subordinate civil authorities in his Division to adopt measures for carefully watching these people, and other vagrants. Such persons should be detained if they would be unable to find security for their good conduct. "All these people are known to convey letters concealed about their persons or in the hollow of their bamboo latties" (258).

The Commissioner was informed that the clothes and other articles of those persons should be carefully searched and "where any evidence of sedition was discovered, the culprit should be immediately tried and dealt with in accordance to law" (259).

The Secretary to the Government of India instructed the provincial Governments to adopt vigilant measures to prevent "any subject from a foreign country from penetrating into the interior" (260). The restriction was specially meant to apply to foreign military officers who might hope to find employment "with the rebels or with independent Indian States".

It is not a fact that there was 'complete tranquillity' and no excitement in coastal Orissa, as reported by the Commissioner from time to time. There was insubordination among the ranks of the Paik company at Balasore. Two Havildars and one Naik were summarily dismissed. Subadar Jagannath Daura was also dismissed and deprived of his sword (261).

The Commissioner in circuit wrote a letter to the Magistrate of Cuttack, informing him about the arrest of three Khond Sardars, Beer Khond, Bala Biswal and Ungat Gauntia. They were to be kept in the Dewanee jail on their arrival at Cuttack under surveillance. Beer Khond was a leader in the last Ghumsur rebellion. He and Chakra Bisoyee induced the Raja of Angul to join the rebellion. Bir Khond was a patriarch of the Khonds. He left Khondmals after its annexa.

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(258). Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Commissioner, Cuttack 17th June 1858.

(259). Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Commissioner, Cuttack 17th June 1858.

(260 . Secretary to the Government of India to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal 19th October 1857.

(261). Magistrate, Balasore to the Commissioner 28th October 1857.

tion and lived in the Baud State. Bala Biswal and Ungat were two rebellious 'Sarbarakars' who were in league with Chakra Bisoyee and Bir Khond. As they defied their master the Raja of Athmallik, they were removed from Sarbarakarship. They then left the killa of Athmallik and lived near Bir Khond's house (262).

RAMAKRISHNA SAMANTASIMHAR

In the months of August 1857 R. N. Shore, Magistrate of Cuttack reported that the Khandaits, a turbulent class of men 'had in some cases shown a disposition to combine and refuse payment of rents. There were also some instances of outrages committed by them (263). Subsequently, the Magistrate informed the Commissioner of the arrest made by him of Ramakrishna Samanta Simhar, ex-zamindar of Ballia (Perganah Burraon, Thanah Jajpur) on a charge of seditious conduct. He pointed out that Ramakrishna belonged to the 'old and ruined class 'of the Khandaits, "who would be certain to take advantage of the first commotion in the hope of acquiring plunder if not of recovering their hereditary estates now lost to them by their extravagance" (264).

The information on which the Magistrate acted was a letter addressed by the Tahsildar of the present Zamindar Golak Chandra Bose to his employer in which he stated that the ex-zamindar Ramakrishna had been collecting weapons, using threatening language and warning the ryots not to pay the rent on the ground that "the Company's rule was about to cease". (264A) The Daroga, who had been directed to search his house seized a few swords and a couple of old match-locks. The Magistrate did not consider the find of much consequence. But it was found that the arms had been recently polished, which in the opinion of the Magistrate indicated some ulterior motive. He took the view that the real charge against the accused was the use of seditious language which caused a general alarm.

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(262). G. F. Cockburn to the Magistrate, Cuttack
27th December 1857.

(263). Magistrate, Cuttack to the Commissioner
2nd August 1857.

(264). Magistrate, Cuttack to the Commissioner.
14th August 1857.

This reference to the plight of the Khandaits indicates how they were dispossessed by the new comers, Bengalis and upcountrymen

(264A). "He would then regain his property and kill the interlopers"—*Report of Criminal administration for* 185[illegible]

Pending the collection of more evidence the Magistrate put Ramakrishna and two of his principal followers, Dinabandhu Mahapatra and Upendra Jena in the Jail. He considered the crime to be a State offence, punishable under Act XI of 1857. He was against the case being subjected to delay and the possibility of a miscarriage, if referred to ordinary civil courts. So he suggested that the accused persons should be tried by a tribunal (265).

The Commissioner was satisfied about 'the evil designs' of Ramkrishna and thanked the Magistrate for the active measure he had taken. He suggested that if the Magistrate was of opinion that the evidence was sufficient to warrant a committal for an offence against the State, he would send the accused persons for trial to the court of J. J. Ward the Sessions Judge in his capacity as a special Commissioner (266) [which empowered him to try cases summarily under section VII of Act XIV of 1857]. The three prisoners were committed to the Sessions court by the Magistrate. The charge against them was conspiracy to rebel and wage war against the East India Company. The trial was held on the 31st August. Upendra Jena was released but the two other accused persons were sentenced to 5 years imprisonment with labour but without irons. The property of Ramakrishna was ordered to be confiscated to the Government. The Lt-Governor's approval for trying Ramakrishna and others for "seditious conduct" by a tribunal was intimated to the Commissioner after Ramakrishna's trial and conviction (267).

It is clear that the punishment meted out to Ramakrishna, was a travesty of justice. It was intended to be a salutary example to all those who sympathized with the Mutiny.

Ramakrishna's household articles were attached and sold by auction, fetching only rupees thirteen. This fact shows how the Khandait class was impoverished. Only a small plot of lakheraj land of less than 8 gunts situated in the village Rekabi Bazar was found standing in Ramakrishna's name. That was attached by the Government in accordance to the judgment of the Sessions court.

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(265). Magistrate, Cuttack to the Commissioner
14th August 1857.

Shore admitted that the mode of procedure against the accused persons was not clear

(266). Commissioner, Cuttack to the Magistrate, Cuttack
15th August 1857.

(267). Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Commissioner, Cuttack
9th September 1857.

After the declaration of the amnesty in November 1858, Ramakrishna's case was taken up. The Magistrate of Cuttack recommended his release inspite of his "unquestionably seditious conduct" and the restoration of his property. The Lt. Governor accepted his recommendation and ordered the release of Ramakrishna Samanta Simhar and Dinabandhu Mahapatra (268).

CHAKI KHUNTIA

Like Ramakrishna Samanta Simhar, Chaki Khuntia, a 'Punda' of Puri took part in anti-British activities. Chaki Khuntia has now become a legendary figure, with all the advantages that imagination can endow. He was a Sepoy Punda by profession. These Pundas visited up-country military stations to induce the Sepoys to visit the Jagannath temple at Puri. So far we have got only two genuiue letters on Chaki Khuntia. In the first letter, the Commissioner wrote to the Magistrate of Puri in reply to his letter dated fhe 12th August 1858 that so far as the proceeding already shown he hardly thought that there were records sufficient for detaining Chaki Khuntia on a charge of rebellion and the Magistrate of Behar should be informed accordingly with a view to the man's release. At the same time the Magistrate of Puri should explain to him of suspi cions entertained in respect to his recent conduct being so strong that in the event of his being found at Puri or any part of the Division of Orissa he would be immediately seized and sent of, Thana by Thana to Mr. Wilson's (269) Headquarters wherever they might be or to Lucknow in order that further enguiries might be instituted against him. The Commissioner added that on no account would he be ever allowed to resume his profession as a Sepoy 'Pundha' at Puri or to live in the Division (270).

Cockburn again wrote to the Magistrate in reply to his letter dated the 10th November 1858 that Chaki Khuntia was entitled to to immediate release under the Amnesty declaration. He desired that the Magistrate would inform the prisoner that only due to the royal clemency, further proceedings against him, as previously

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(268). Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Commissioner, Cuttack 9th Februaay 1859

(269). J. C. Wilson was appointed as Commissioner by the Government of India by a notification dated 12-3-1858 for the detection, trial and punishment of the Mutineers.

(270). G. F. Cockburn to the officiating Magistrate, Puri 14th August 1858.

intended, were stayed. The sale proceeds of his property should be refunded to him. The Commissioner further directed that his conduct should be carefully watched hereafter (271).

It is difficult to form an estimate of Chaki Khuntia with the meagre information that we possess; and much must remain for guess work.

It is unfortunate that the letters of the Puri Magistate under reference are lost, as the all old records in the Puri records office were destroyed in the fire in 1916. Chaki Khuntia appears to have had contact with the Sepoys of the 13th B. N. I. which mutinied at Lucknow. He was arrested on suspicion in Bihar, probably at Dinapore. It is to be noted that the 13th Regiment moved to Lucknow from Bhagalpur shortly before the Mutiny. It was at Dinapore between 1853 and 1855. The reference to his 'recent conduct' shows that he was arrested a few months after the outbreak of the Mutiny. Though the Commissioner held that there were not sufficient grounds for detaining him he was not released. It appears that he was brought to Puri and was detained in the jail probably due to an adverse report of the Magistrate of Puri. Proceedings were drawn up against him and his property was sold away. He was subseqently released after the declaration of the amnesty.

A letter has been found at Puri allegedly addressed by Rani of Jhansi to her family priest Chaki Khuntia. I could not get an opportunity to see the letter. The 'discoverer' of the letter has a bad record of discovering things.

Dr. S. N. Sen makes the following observation : "The letter is in Hindi and is dated March 1856. It this document was genuine then the Rani must have been engaged in organizing a revolt fully one year before the Meerut rising. But the language and script seem to be modern. In her Kharita to Sir Robert Hamilton the Muslim style of dating is followed but this letter, addressed to a Brahmin, is dated in the English style. The Rani, contrary to the Indian practice of those times, addressed her priest as 'Respected Pandaji' (*Mananiya Pandaji*) and subscribes herself as 'Yours Lakshmi Bal' (*apka Lakshmi Bai*, which is again incorrect Hindi). The seal is different from that used in authentic letters, and lastly it refers to greased cartridges. The cartridge did not come to India before November 1856 and the

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(271). G. F. Cockburn to the officiating Magistrate, Puri 15th November 1858.

(272). *Eighteen Fifty-seven* : Dr. S. N. Sen pp 401-402

Sepoys do not seem to have heard of it until the following January. The letter was apparently written from Meerut but there is no evidence that the Rani had been to that place in March 1856, or at any other time. The document is obviously a clumsy fabrication and the writer, whoever he or she may be, is accustomed to correspond in English".

Petition from the Zamindars

In the beginning of 1859 the Lt. Governor of Bengal visited the three districts of Orissa. The Zamindars of these districts presented a petition in which they made the following requests (1) that the 'Malikana' on the estates of the districts then assessed variously at 30, 35 and 40 per cent might be made uniform (2) that the remission allowed by the Government during drought or flood might be proportional to the losses sustained, whether the loss be above or below 20 per cent (3) that the Regulation V of 1833 which provided that no complaint for summary suits would be entertained without the production of the Patwari papers might be repealed (4 that the Sub-holders unable to pay their rents might be reduced to the same footing as the Zamindars, half of whose estates had been sold for arrears (5) that a college be established in the Province (6) that the innumerable Instructions, Circular orders and Decisions then in force be consolidated in to a simple Code in each department (7) that in case of one among a number of shareholders proving a defaulter, his share only be sold, the shares of the others remaining intact.

The petition also touched issues concerning religion. It was requested that butchers be prohibited from exercising their trade within the limits of the towns, that the Missionaries be forbidden to preach at 'Jattras' and other places where men congregate and that the law which allows a convert to succeed to his hereditary property be repealed. Lastly, it was desired that roads, choultries and railways be made whereby population would increase. His Honour promised to consider the questions of the assessments of the estates, of remission during drought and flood, of repeal of Regulation V, ot the sale of the share of a defaulting shareholder and of the compilation of a Code containing all the Circulars of the Government. He desired to have the opinion of the Director of Public Instruction relative to the establishment of a college in the province. (273)

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(273). From C. I. Buckland, Secretary to the Government of Bengal to the Commissioner, Orissa 5th March 1859

APPENDIX

SURENDRA SAI IN TRADITIONS

I. The Fort of Kudopali

Surendra was a man of great physical strength. His favourite resort was the 'Dumri, (hillock) at Kudopali. There are some caves on the hillock which sheltered Surendra and his followers. The villagers identify a stone implement in the shape of a battle axe on the hillock as the 'Pharsa' (battle axe) of Surendra, being metamorphosed into stone. The hillock was used as a Tower to watch the movements of the enemies, while the fort was hidden from their sight, being covered with impenetrable forest. Surendra and his men used to come down from the hillock after sunset. The Gond soldiers of Surendra entertained the villagers of Kudopali by war dances. Surendra freely mixed with the people of Kudopali and attended to their needs.

II. The fort Garhdwar on the hill of Garhpati

Surendra constructed a fort on the hill of Garhpati at a distance of 17 miles from Sambalpur. The fort was hidden in dense forest and the track through the jungle was known only to a few chosen followers of Surendra. The British force came to know of the existence of the fort and surrounded the hill. The followers of Surendra unloosened huge stones by catapults. These stones rolled down the hill and fell upon the enemies causing heavy casualties, and forced them to retire. This victory threw Surendra off his guard. On the night of Rasa Purnima, the British force again attacked the fort. Surendra and his followers were asleep after a riotous feast. A traitor showed the path to the hill top to the enemy force. The men inside the fort could not defend themselves due to the surprise attack and a large number of them were slain. It is said that the groans of dying men are still heard on Rasa Purnima night on the hillock. Surendra and some of his followers however effected their escape by a secret passage. Some insurgents took shelter in huts in the village at the foot of the hill. The British force set fire to the huts after paying compensation to the owners, thus burning the insurgents alive.

III. Death of Surendra Sai

Surendra Sai, it is said, led a charmed life. He was unassailable to any weapon. This was due to the miraculous properties held by a unique herbal medicine called 'Patharlasa' which had been inserted into his body. Surendra spent his last days in prison. Surendra resolved to die as he was tortured by the jail authorities. He cut a part of his thigh and drew out the herbal medicine and committed suicide. According to another tradition, he became blind due to the negligence of the jail authorities. He was released but detained at Raipur where he died.

II. MUTINY NEWS

Extracts

The Mussalmans were tampering with the Native soldiery at Cuttack. That station being on the extreme southern limits of the Bengal Presidency was guarded by Madras troops; and the lie was insidiously framed so as to meet the peculiar circumstance of the coast army. They were told that the European armies were coming to disarm them, and then march them off to a distance of many hundred miles. The Madras soldier carries his family with him; so this was a most alarming rumour. But the thought of the family, if a source of alarm to the soldier, was a source of safety to the State. Those wives and children were hostages for their fidelity. If the families of the Bengal Sepoys had followed them in camp and cantonment, they would not have gone into revolt.

Letter from Captain W. D. Shorts, Madras Enginners quoted in The *History of the Sepoy War* Vol. III : Kaye p. 173

(2)

The Rajah of Serakelah has saved the treasure of Singhbhum by his own men and has applied to the Bengal Government for 2 000 rupees to raise and equip a regiment

The Englishman 26th August 1857.

(3)

Raja Gadadhar Narain Singh of Keeonjhur received personal thanks from the Governor General for rendering loyal services to the Government

The *Native Fidelity during the Mutiny* p. 325

(4)

The two companies of the 8th unit of the Native Infantry, stationed at Hazaribagh, had revolted and released the prisoners from the jail.

Education Gazette & Weekly Bartavaha 7th August 1857.

(5)

Sundar Saha who was confined in the Hazaribagh jail, serving a life sentence, escaped when the rebels broke open the jail. Having gone to Sambalpur with 2/3 thousand men and his brother, "he is pretending to be the Raja"

Education Gazette & Weekly Bartabaha" 23rd October 1857.

(6)

In Cuttack, bounding the north-west corner of the Bay of Bengal many Muhammadans were detected in the attempt to sap the loyalty of the Sakhawati Battalion. Lieutenant Colonel Forster, with the

head-quarters of that corps at Midnapore succeeded by his personal influence in keeping the men from anything beyond slight acts of insubordination but he had many proofs in that town and in the Cuttack district, that the Company's 'raj' or rule was being preached against by many emissaries of rebellion.

The *History of Indian revolt* published by Chambers, 1859 p. 151

(7)

From the Commissioner, Cuttack. To the District Magistrate, Cuttack. Dated 1-7-1957.

As the Sepoys of the Bengal army were seen in Madras regiments and also some retrenched Sepoys were seen to continue Mutiny, he instructs in the name of public safety (1) to stop any person who seems to be a Sepoy (2) to examine his passport and certificate if any (3) to record (a) his name (b) Company (c) regiment (d) where comes from (e) where going to and (f) extent of leave.

He will detain and deal with all persons reasonably supposed to be mutineers or deserters, as provided for by the act XVII of 1857 He will arrest and make over to the nearest military authority all persons who have overstayed their leave or are discovered in places other than those for which leave was granted. He will please send without any delay copies of the reported information taken, to the Magistrates of Puri and Balasore and also to the officer commanding the 40th Battalion. All arrests and searches will be carried out by local officers' but pilgrims to Jagannath will not be unnecessarily suspected and those who are granted leave should not be unnecessarily searched.

(8)

Bengal Sepoy Pilgrims to Puri

The Sepoys from Berhampore, Bengal, came to Puri in two batches to worship Jagannath. The first batch was granted leave from the 1st August to the 29th September 1857. The second batch was granted leave from the 1st October to the 15th November. Six Sepoys of the 70th regiment were discharged at Barrackpore on the 26th August 1857, and they left for Puri on their way home. One Sepoy from the 2nd regiment, stationed at Barrackpore, came to Puri on leave in July 1857. Eleven Sepoys from the Sambalpur detachment of the Ramgarh Battalion visited Puri in August 1857.

One pilgrim deserves special mention. Sheonath Pande of the 1st Company of the 19th regiment was granted leave for the month of October 1857. He left Puri on the 17th October and returned to Barrackpore. It shows that the 19th regiment was not fully disbanded at Barrackpore.

ARJUN SINGH, THE RAJA OF PORAHAT

At the commencement of the Mutinv, Ramgarh Battalion occupied various stations of Hazaribagh, Ranchi (Doranda) Purulia, Chaibasa and Sambalpur. The sepoys were mostly Hindusthani. In addition to the Ramgarh Battalion, there was a detachment of 8th. N. I. at Hazaribagh. On the 30th July (1857) two companies of that detachment mutinied, plundered the treasury and released the prisoners. Surendra Sai and his brother Udwanta Sai who were in the Hazaribagh Jail at the time as life-prisoners were released along with others.

The detachment of Ramgarh Battalion sent to attack the mutineers also broke into open revolt and marched towards Ranchi. The British authorities at Chaibasa and Sambalpur were feeling uneasy over these developments. The Principal Assistant Commissioner of Chaibasa became nervous on hearing the mutiny of the sepoys at Ranchi and left the place leaving the charge of the Station to the Raja of Seraikela. The Raja summoned all the Chiefs in that area to send forces for protection of the Station.

This was resented by Arjun Singh, the Raja of Porahat, who was not on good terms with the Raja of Seraikela. So he refused to send his paiks on the summon of the Raja of Seraikela. On the contrary, he invited the mutineers to join him. They accepted the invitation of the Raja and joined him. The sepoys made over to him the greater part of the money looted from the Government Treasury.

Lt. Birch was appointed as the Principal Assistant Commissioner of the Chaibasa district after the panicky flight of his predecessor. Lt. Birch, on assumption of his office, called upon the Raja of Porahat to deliver himself up, restore the Government treasure and make over to him the rebellious sepoys. The Raja wavered for some time but eventually made up his mind to surrender himself. Instead of delivering himself to Lt. Birch, he proceeded to Ranchi where he made over to Captain Dalton, the Commissioner, the plundered treasure and 100 sepoys as prisoners. Captain Dalton asked him to give himself up to to Lt. Birch for trial. The 100 sepoys who were made over by the Raja to the Commissioner were tried and 43 of them were hanged and the remainder sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

Arjun Singh, however, did not submit to Lt. Birch as directed. The wavering of the Raja to act one way or other was due to the influence of Jagu Diwan who instigated him to resist the British, rather

than submit to them. But the Raja wished to submit. Thus he was wavering between submission and resistance.

Lt. Birch wanted to take action without waiting any further. So in November (1857) he made an expedition against the Raja's forces, surprised them and captured Jagu Diwan who was subsequently tried and hanged. The Raja's strong-hold was attacked and taken, but the Raja managed to escape. Raja of Seraikela did good service on this occasion and was rewarded.

Arjun Singh and his brother incited the Kols to rise against the British. Apprehending a serious insurrection, the Shekawati Battalion under Col. Foster was directed to move to Chaibasa.

On the 14th January Lt. Birch accompanied by 50 or 60 Sikhs under Captain Hale made an expedition against the Kols. They were ambushed on the way and attacked by about 3000 or 4000 Kols. All the members of the party were wounded. The Kols lost 150 men dead on the field.

The insurgents attacked Chakradharpur where Raja of Seraikela was staying. The Raja made good his escape.

Col. Foster reached Chaibasa on the 17th January (1858) with the Shekawati Battalion. He attacked a large force of Kols assembled at Siringsella Pass killing a large number of them. Only seven of the sepoys under Col. Foster were wounded.

After this, the rebellion was confined to few skirmishes now and then. The authorities wanted to capture the Raja who was at the root of all troubles, but they failed. Numerous proclamations were issued; Raja was contacted through his friends who persuaded him to surrender; he was threatened with confiscation of his estate; but all these had little effect on the Raja who did not want to surrender to the British.

The peace and tranquillity of Chaibasa continued to be disturbed now and then by skirmishes between the British forces and the Kols till the end of June (1858).

After this the area was not further disturbed. The Kols had lost a large number of their men; so they were rather disheartened to continue the insurrection any further. *

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* Buckland, *Bengal under Lieutenant Governors*, pp. 98-109.

IV. THE ORISSA FAMINE

It may be questioned whether the history of a famine has any place in a history of the Freedom Movement. The Orissa famine marks the advent of new Orissa. Political consciousness was delayed in Orissa in comparison to Bengal, because she received the benefit of western education long after her sister province. British Orissa consisting of three districts only, was sadly neglected by the British authorities. The famine was the cumulative effect of the negligence which caused the most intense famine of the 19th century. Flood came in the wake of the famine to complete the catastrophe.

The Orissa famine is unique because "there was (till comparatively a late period) almost no importation, and the people, shut up in a narrow province between the pathless jungles and impracticable sea, were in the condition of passengers, in a ship without provisions. Money was spurned as worthless". Prices of rice "were far beyond those known in any recorded famine in the century" (274).

The extent of mortality was estimated about" a third of the population or nearly a million persons" (275).

The Famine of 1866 is called the Famine of the 9th Anka (of the Puri Raja Divyasimha Deba) who, however, gave little help to alleviate the distress of the people (276).

The Famine has a unique feature. It is a man made famine (277).

The Famine of 1866 took place due to the following causes :

1. The failure of the rice crop in 1865 due to the insufficient and premature cessation of rainfall

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(274). *Bengal Under the Lieutenant Governors* : C. E. Buckland Vol. I pp 333

(275). The Famine Commission Report of 1878

276 . "In my effort to induce eight of the principal residents to join with me in coming forward each with a subscription of rupees 1000 for a local relief fund, the only answer I have yet received is a refusal, and that from the Rajah of Pooree"

G. N. Barlow, Collector, Puri to R. B. Chapman, Member, Board of Revenue 26th November 1865.

(277). "Seldom can official complacency and doctrinaire economics have combined to produce such a halocaust"
Rise & Fulfilment of British rule in India : Garatt & Thompson p. 483.

2. Depletion of the reserve stock of rice due to very heavy export, particularly in 1865

3. Abnormal rise in the price of rice which went beyond the means of the poorer classes.

There was deficiency of two-thirds of the ordinary rainfall in 1865 which caused the drought. In 1864 and 1865 prices ruled so high that the agricultural population parted with their entire stock. The crops of 1864 and 1865 were abundant unusually and very large exportation of rice took place which might have otherwise been available for 1865-1866 (278).

In those two seasons of plenty and high prices. the people forgot their usual caution to keep a reserve stock. When the crop failed in 1865, there was nothing else for the people to fall back upon.

In 1865, the country was thus denuded of stock. It was only in 1866, that it was discovered that there was an alarming shortage of food stocks. Precautionary measures were not taken to check the rise in price.

The low food stock and the unrestricted export of rice increased the price. Even in the beginning of 1865. "two pice a seer for good coarse rice used to be considered a high price (279).

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(278). The Famine Commission pointed out that in 1865 33,000 tons, the highest amount ever exported, was sent away from Orissa; of which 28,000 tons were exported from Balasore.

For this the people cannot be blamed for upwards of 20 years before 1865, Orissa was not visited from calamities of season to any very unusual extent.

(279). H. Muspratt, Collector, Balasore to the Commissioner 12th May 1866

An idea of the wages may be formed from the following extract. At Malud, the Salt-Darogah paid for the labour to the coolies at the fixed rate of two pice per day. "As it seemed preposterous in those days to be paying for the labour two pice per day, I ordered it to be doubled. I do not think I am extravagant".
Barlow to Ravenshaw, Commissioner 29th December 1865

The worst sufferers during the famine were the non-agricultura-list classes, the workers for wages, coolies for the agriculturist laboureers, and small artisans.

Precautionary measures were not adopted to check the rise in price. No interference was made in fixing the Bazar rates. Rice was sold at the arbitrary rate of 12 seers per rupee at Cuttack even in October 1865, before there was any general alarm. Condition of Puri got worse and rice was sold at the rate of 8 seers only. Very small quantity of rice was obtainable in the Bazars.

The price of rice regulated the wages of the poor people. The price of rice shot up so high but the wages did nor increase correspondingly. It became impossible for the poor people to buy rice. "In the interior of the districts, food was generally not to be procured for money, and when sold, ranged up to about thirty times the ordinary price".

The condition became worse when greedy Mahajans began to hoard the existing stock (280). In 1866, there was a panic that the drought would continue and the surplus stock was withheld (281).

The result was that in June 1866, a rupee fetched only 5 seers of common rice in the Balasore district. In the Cuttack district it was worse.

The officers serving in Orissa had no previous knowledge of the province. R. N. Shore who served as Magistrate of Cuttack and subsequently as Commissioner, left Orissa in 1865. T. E. Ravenshaw was appointed as officiating Commissioner (282). The work of the

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(280). "In the hope that prices would rise, the dealers combined to close their shops and agreed to keep all grains out of the market. The Touts or Dundeedars were sent out on the main lines of road to persuade producers bringing grain to the market to wait for higher price of which they held out hopes".

T. E. Ravenshaw to the Secretary Government of Bengal
27th October 1865.

(281). "There is also a vague idea that next year may turn out an insufficient crop and those who hold more than enough rice for their own use during the current year witheld the balance for next in place of throwing it into the markets".

T. E. Ravenshaw to the Secretary to Government of Bengal
2nd April 1866.

(282). He was appointed Commissioner, Orissa in June 1865.

"Ravenshaw had comparatively little experience as a revenue officer, and hardly experience at all in Orissa. It was known that his views were more sanguine than those of his Collectors who had far more experiemce than himself".

Extract from the Despatch of the Secretary of State.

Commissioner, Cuttack, who was also the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals, was very heavy.

Only Barlow, Magistrate of Puri, had been in charge of the district for four years, and consequently had some acquaintance with the condition of the district. None of the officers had any experience of famine or administration of relief measures.

Ravenshaw took no serious notice of the early indications of famine in 1865. He did nothing to check the abnormal rise in the price of rice 283). He warned the Magistrate of Cuttack that the Police must not exercise "the smallest interference with dealers or purchasers" (284). The dealers took advantage of this policy of non-interference and arbitrarily closed their shops in the hope of getting more profit. This created a panic. Before September rice was selling in the south of the Puri district at famine rates. When October passed without rains the country was in great distress. The rice trade was stopped. Rice disappeared from the open market, The price of rice rose to 12 seers per rupee, but even at that rate it was not available.

But Ravenshaw was of opinion that "there should be no interference with the natural course of trade", as the very fact of exceedingly high prices then prevailing should operate as inducement to sell.

Ravenshaw made a great mistake by communicating his belief to the Government of Bengal to the effect that "there is without doubt plenty of grain in the country" (285). He was confident that sooner or later the hidden stock would find its way to the open market.

Ravenshaw's conduct during the visit of the Lieutenant Governor must be criticized.

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(283). Even in April 1866, when the famine had already begun, he asked the district authorities to promote unrestricted trade and at same time "not to interfere with the prices at which the grain is or has been sold".

T. E. Ravenshaw to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 2nd April 1866.

(284). T. E. Ravenshaw to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, 27th October 1865.

(285). T. E. Ravenshaw to the Secretary, Government of Bengal. 27th October 1865.

Ravenshaw and the subordinate local officers did not possess the 'official boldness' to represent the true facts to the Lieutenant Governor. He did not press for the revival of the salt trade or for the importation of rice when there was still time.

The Famine Commissioners expressed the opinion that the action of Ravenshaw was generally (up to a certain point) unfortunate. In particular he yielded injudiciously to a mere popular cry regarding the existence of stocks kept back by wicked grain dealers.

They made "the greatest possible allowances" for the recentness of his appointment, and to his want of knowledge of the people and want of experience of the duties thrown on him. But they pointed out that Ravenshaw's want of local knowledge, his mistake regarding the stocks of grain and some errors and omissions on his part produced a bad effect. The case was not being fully explained to the higher authorities by him.

Next to Ravenshaw, Sir Cecil Beadon the Lieutenant Governor must be blamed for the calamity.

The month of February 1866 was the most critical period in the history of the famine, when exertions on the part of the Government might have been most effectual. The Lieutenant Governor reached Orissa on February 13th. He did not hold any detailed conversation with the local officers.

He landed at Puri but he did not visit the strip bordering on the Chilka lake where mortality was reported to be very high. At Cuttack, he held a Durbar. In his speech, he referred to the drought. In his opinion, the Government should not interfere with prices. "If I were to attempt to do this", he said "I should consider myself no better than a dacoit or thief" (286).

The Famine Commissioners criticized the conduct of the Lieutenant Governor. They held that His Honour took a sanguine view of the question. They thought it unfortunate that the opinions held by some of the local officers regarding the extreme deficiency of food stock were not given proper consideration.

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(286). "His remarks on the advantage of free trade were not however appreciated by men who regarded the exportation of rice to Europe as the chief cause of the calamity that had overtaken them". *Calcutta Review* 1866 No. 3

The Lieutenant Governor went back to Calcutta, after ordering Ravenshaw to visit Mayurbhanj (287). On the 13th April, Ravenshaw left for Mayurbhanj. For more than a month there was no local head in the division.

Thus Beadon's visit did not improve the situation. No decision was made to import rice. The Famine Commission points out that the omission to import rice, in the early months of 1866 had unfortunately a double effect. "If moderate quantities had been imported, the machinery for landing and distributing must have been prepared, and the knowledge of these operations which would have been obtained, would have rendered it possible to pour vastly larger quantities of rice into the province in June, July and August. This was the case when importations were suddenly begun in June withoui any preparation of any kind, and just at the season when it had nearly become impossible to send boats and the light river steamers from Calcutta".

Thus the relief operations were not begun till the province was suddenly found to be "almost bare of food".

For this negligence, Sir Cecil Beadon must be held responsible.

On his return to Calcutta from Orissa, the Government of India made enquiries regarding the famine condition in Orissa and the Lieutenant Governor minimized the gravity of the situation, by making statements, such as "prices are falling in Orissa",

"Positive assertions of this sort" observed the Governor General, "in so unspeakably serious a matter ought not have been based on the mere absence of evidence to the contrary. We know indeed they were altogether opposed to the facts".

The Governor General concluded that the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal did not exhibit foresight and deligence in the later months of 1865 and the earlier months of 1866. During these months "the Head of the Bengal Government laboured under what may be described as an incapacity to believe in disaster" (288).

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(287). During the Bengal Bihar famine of 1874, Lord Northbrook scarcely left Calcutta for 18 months and his personal supervision of the arrangements, "enabled him to avoid the lamentable disasters of the Orissa Famine of Lord Lawrence"

British Government in India : Lord Curzon p. 238

(288). The Governor General's Minute on Orissa Famine 20th April 1867.

The *Hindu Patriot* was the first Calcutta Paper to draw the attention of the Government of Bengal. On the 5th March 1866, it published a letter of appeal from Sri Ramakshaya Chatterjee, Deputy Collector, Puri, who wrote : "Starvation in the literal sense is to be seen in every part of the district". Krishnadas Pal, the Editor, severely criticized the Government of India for taking no steps to meet the crisis. /

On the 12th March, the Government of India made enquiry about the distress in Orissa. The Government of Bengal reported on the 28th March that the distress of the people of Orissa "had been materially relieved" by the public works.

The famine now spread throughout the province. In April 1866 very coarse rice was sold at the rate of 6 seers per rupee. Ravenshaw still believed that there was sufficient grain in the country which had been withheld by the Mahajans and zamindars (289).

In the month of May 1866, Barlow, Magistrate of Puri, could no more bear the sight of misery. In his letter to the Editor of the *Englishman* he pointed out : " A state of extremity had reached a large number of population of the district and the difficulty had risen to a degree where it is beyond the power of local officers to meet or control it".

Ravenshaw now supported Barlow and wrote, for the first time a strong letter, to the Government, on the 18th May.

Matters now moved quickly. The Governor General, Sir John Lawrence, telegraphed to the Lieutenant Governor expressing his anxiety for the famine, and assuring financial help. On the 29th May, Sir Cecil Beadon telegraphed from Darjeeling ordering importation of rice from Burma.

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(289). "There was food in the country, sufficient for the present, were it readily available for money"

T. E. Ravenshaw to the Secretary, Government of Bengal,
2nd April 1866.

"I hear every where that there is a large store still in hand but then the dealers were holding back their stocks of grain"

T. E. Ravenshaw to the Secretary, Government of Bengal,
8th April 1866.

In June, all Orissa was plunged in one universal famine of extreme severity. "For miles together you hear yell for food". The Lieutenant Governor returned from Darjeeling and personally supervised the arrangements for the import of rice from Burma. By the end of December 1866, 4 lakhs maunds of rice were sent to Orissa from Burma. A special Commissioner was appointed to supervise the relief work. By the end of 1867, another 6 lakhs of maunds were imported. The winter crop of 1866 was good. People did not like Burma rice. But rice was imported from Burma even when there was no demand. Rice in the Government depots had to be sold at reduced rate of Rupees 2 per maund, while the cost of purchase and importation of 10,55,525 maunds of rice for the famished population of Orissa, Midnapore and Singbhum was rupees 48 lakhs @ rupees 4/9 per maund.

The Report of the Famine commission of 1878 pointed out that the quantity imported was enormously in excess of what was required. Less than a third of the million maunds were spent. A small quantity was sold at a great loss. "The balance had to be parted with for next to nothing. Out of the total sum spent in 1867 on this object, at least two-thirds or 28 lakhs of rupees were absolutely thrown away".

The Report concludes "It is a melancholy reflection that, while a larger sum of money was spent on this famine than had ever been spent before, it should be associated in history only with the memory of a greater mortality than had ever been recorded".

11. THE AFTER EFFECTS OF THE FAMINE OF 1866

The famine of 1866 was not an unmixed evil. After the censure which the Bengal Government received from the Secretary of State, they evinced more zeal for the material progress of Orissa. During the dark months of the famine, the Lieutenant Governor in his Durbar Speech promised a 'High School' in Orissa. In 1868 Sir Stafford Northcote, Secretary of State, drew attention to the fact that the outlying portions of Bengal were not receiving proper attention. He referred to the famine of 1866 as furnishing evidence of "the defects of the existing system of Government when exposed to the ordeal of a serious emergency". He suggested that Assam and possibly Orissa should be separated from Bengal (290).

In the beginning of 1867, the Government declared that the Cuttack Zilla school would be raised to the status of a 'High School' (Intermediate College) (291).

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(290). This statement of Sir Stafford Northcote was quoted by H. H. Risley in support of the proposed partition of Bengal.

H. H. Risley, Secretary to the Government of India to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal 3rd December 1903.

(291). In May 1822, Rev. William Bampton started an 'English school' for the converts. In 1841 the school was taken over by the Government. In 1851, the Cuttack school was named Cuttack Zilla School and Edward Fell was appointed Headmaster. The school began to teach the Entrance courses from 1854. In 1859, Hemchandra Ray, A. T. Atkinson, Banamali Singh, Haradhan Ghosh and Peary Mohan Sen passed the Entrance examination from this school.

In December 1867, the Government also declared that a Normal School would be opened next year (292)

II. THE ADIVASI REBELLIONS

Shortly before the famine, the first Keonjhar rebellion took place. In March 1861, the Raja of Keonjhar died without leaving a legitimate child. Dhanurjay, an illegitimate son, was placed on the guddee. But the widow of the late Raja declared that Dhanurjay was unfit for the guddee, as he was the son of a 'phulbibahi' wife. She wanted to place Brundaban, the grandson of the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj, on the guddee on the ground that her husband had adopted that boy before his death.

Ravenshaw, the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals, decided in favour of Dhanurjay. The Rani appealed to the Calcutta High Court on behalf of Brundaban, but the appeal was rejected. The Government then recognized Dhanurjay as the Raja of Keonjhar. Arrangements were made for his education at Cuttack, as he was a minor at that time. He attained majority in 1867. Meanwhile the Rani appealed to the Privy Council. In September the Bhuyan Sardars of Keonjhar were brought to Cuttack to profess allegiance to the Raja. Only one important Sardar named Ratna Naik refused to come, and openly declared in favour of Brundaban.

Gradually some more Sardars came over to Brundaban's side. The defection of the Bhuyan Sardars was a serious problem, as the Bhuyans claimed the right of installing the Rajas of Keonjhar. Dhanurjay proceeded to his State but did not dare to go beyond Anandapur, as the Rani and her followers were openly inciting the

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(292). Commenting on the announcement to open a Normal School, shortly after the opening of the 'High School' classes, the *Utkal Dipika* observed "These are the good results of the last Famine. Had not that calamity occurred, the Government would not have given such attention"

Utkal Dipika 12th December 1867.

The Editor of the *Calcutta Review* wrote tn December 1866 "Through the famine, Orissa has attained the turning point and the crisis of her destiny. Every calamity has its moral, and the moral of the famine is the adoption by the Government of a policy of progress, and of the material and moral development of Orissa"

The third part ot the Report of the Famine Commission recommended the penetration of the country in all directions by canals. The Government accepted the recommendation.

people not to recognize Dhanurjay as the Raja. Even she arranged a deputation of the Sardars of the Bhuyan tribe to meet the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. The deputation proceeded to Calcutta but the Lieutenant Governor told the Bhuyan Sardars that the Government would stick to to the decision to recognize Dhanurjay.

On the 5th December 1867, Ravenshaw arrived at Keonjhar garh with Dhanurjay. He tried to effect a settlement with the Rani who utterly refused to accept Dhanurjay as her husband's successor. Dhanurjay was installed by Ravenshaw but most of the Bhuyan Sardars did not attend the function. In January 1868, the Rani left Keonjhar for Puri. But she halted at Basantapur at a distance of 7 miles from Keonjhar town (293).

She sent for the Sardars, who called her their mother, and bound them by an oath not to desert her cause. Ravenshaw now took up a firm attitude. He went to Basantapur and insisted that the Rani must go back to Keonjhar town. He also promised her a liberal pension.

At last the Rani returned to Keonjhar. On the 13th February 1868, Dhanurjay was crowned for the second time. This time the Bhuyans performed the customary installation ceremony. The Rani attended the function. Colonel Dalton, Commissioner of Chhota-nagpur and Ravenshaw were also present. It seemed that there would be no further trouble, and Ravenshaw returned to Cuttack.

Unfortunately, Nanda Dhal, the Dewan, immediately began to oppress those Bhuyan Sardars who had defied Dhanurjay. The part played by Ravenshaw in securing the installation of Dhanurjay and the presence of some top-ranking British officers at the capital frightened the Bhuyan Sardars, who thought that Nanda Dhal was oppressing them at the instigation of the British Government.

The Ratna 'Meli' (rising)

About the end of April 1868, the Bhuyans suddenly broke in to rebellion (294).

They plundered Keonjhargarh and carried away the Dewan and his partisans. The palace was besieged by the Bhuyans. The Juangs also joined them. Dr. Hayes, Deputy Commissioner of

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(293). *Utkal Dipika* 1st February 1868.

(294). *Utkal Dipika* 9th May 1868.

Singhbhum marched towards Keonjhar with an armed force. He reached Keonjhargarh on the 7th May. He was besieged by the rebels. Colonel Dalton wired to Ravenshaw for military assistance (295).

The Bengal government ordered for the immediate advance of a detachment of troops from Calcutta. Colonel Dalton proceeded towards Keonjhar with the detachment. Ravenshaw, escorted by a contingent of the Madras Native Infantry, reached Anandapur (296). In the month of May, there were skirmishes between the troops and the rebels. A party of Police proceeding from Anandapur towards Keonjhar was repulsed by the rebels.

About the end of June, Colonel Dalton dispersed the rebels and reached Keonjhargarh. The Rajas of the neighbouring territories sent contingents to assist the Government.

Retaliatory expeditions were now sent against the rebels. A number of villages were burnt as a measure of reprisal. Ravenshaw reached Keonjhargarh in the first week of July (297).

Most of the captives were released by the Bhuyans. It was found that the Dewan had been cruelly murdered. The Paiks of the Rajas of Bonai and Pallahara assisted the Government troops in capturing the rebels (298). The Bhuyan Sardars excepting Ratna Naik, Nanda Padhan and Ranai Kol surrendered to the Government troops. On the 15th August, Ratna Naik, the ringleader, was captured by the Paiks of Pallahara. Nanda Padhan and Ranai were subsequently arrested. They were brought to Cuttack under heavy guard (299).

Ravenshaw, in his capacity as the Superintendent of the Tributary States, tried the case at Keonjhargarh. while the principal rebel leaders were lodged in the Cuttack jail (300).

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(295). *Utkal Dipika* 16th May 1868.

(296). *Utkal Dipika* 6rh June 1868.

(297) *Utkal Dipika* 17th July 1868.

(298). *Utkal Dipika* 15th August 1868.

(299). *Utkal Dipika* 5th September 1868.

(300). *Utkal Dipika* 10th October 1868.

Ravenshaw did not show the generosity which his predecessor R. N. Shore showed towards the Sambalpur rebels. After the trial of Surendra Sai, the spirit of reaction triumphed, and the Government was determined not to tolerate any popular movement in the Tributary Mahals. The Keonjhar trial was a savage persecution, in which justice was sacrificed for the sake of the political motive. Seven persons were sentenced to death and more than 130 persons were sentenced to rigorous imprisonment ranging from Transportation of life to six months, Though mainly an Adivasi rising, a large number of Caste Hindus, specially Khandaits, took part in it. (See Appendix)

Ratna Naik, like Chakra Bisoyee, stood for human rights. The Adibasis were oppressed because they were backward,. The Rajas and their Dewans treated them like slaves with the connivance of the British Government. The Keonjhar rebellion was not caused by a dispute over succession to the Guddee. It was a protest against the tyranny of the Garhjat Rajas and economic exploitation by their henchmen. It broke out in Keonjhar because the Bhuyans found out a leader in Ratna Naik. It broke out in Keonjhar again after 22 years.

Nothing is known about the last days of the Rani of Keonjhar—the Messalina of the 19th century Orissa—the only woman who prominently figured in the history of British administration in Orissa in the 19th century. She was taken to Puri where she died.

The Dharani 'Meli' (rising)

Dhanurjay enjoyed the Guddee for more than two decades without any trouble. While spending money for the spread of education at Cuttack, he sought to keep his subjects in a state of degradation. A Bhuyan boy, Dharanidhar by name, however received his favour. Dharanidhar was sent to the Survey school at Cuttack. After his training, he was appointed surveyor in the State. In 1890, there was a boundary dispute between Keonjhar and Singhbhum. Dharanidhar tried to spread education among the Bhuyans. So he incurred the displeasure of the Raja who sent him to survey the border between Keonjhar and Singhbhum. There he heard that the Raja had ordered for the arrest of his brother and of some of his friends, and that he would be also arrested on his return. (301).

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(301). "The oppressions and exactions of the Raja were the immediate causes of the disturbances. A detachment of troops from Calcutta was ordered under arms but it was held in reserve and not called in action"

C. E. Buckland : *Bengal under Lieutenant Governors*, p. 911

The cause of the arrest of Dharanidhar's brother and friends was their agitation against the 'bethi' (without payment) work. Hundreds of Bhuyans were engaged in digging a 'mahara' (channel) through rocks from a hill stream to Keonjhargarh. They were required to do that hard work for eight hours a day without any payment. In 1891, Dharanidhar's brother and friends sent a petition to the Superintendent of the Tributary States. The Raja in reply wrote to the Superintendent that the petition was a malicious propaganda, and arrested the petitioners.

Dharanidhar gave up his job and incited the Bhuyans to rise against the tyranny of the Raja. The Bhuyans elected him as their 'Nayaka' (leader). Dharanidhar looted the 'khamars' (grain stores) of the Raja. He even procured a cannon and some muskets. The Raja proceeded to Ghatagram to punish the rebels.

On the 12th May 1891, about 500 Bhuyans attacked the palace at Keonjhar but was repulsed by gun fire. The situation was indeed serious, but on the receipt of the information the Raja did not hasten to Keonjhargarh to save his family. He fled to Anandapur and sent Fakir Mohan Senapati, Assistant Dewan, to Keonjhar. The party was ambushed and Fakirmohan was taken prisoner. In his autobiography, Fakirmohan writes how he won the confidence of Dharanidhar and betrayed him. The Raja proceeded to Cuttack to meet the Superintendent who sent a detachment of military force with him. The road to Keonjhargarh was cleared with some casualty. Fakirmohan persuaded Dharanidhar to meet the British officer in charge of the military police. He was promptly arrested and sent to the Cutteck jail. Dharanidhar was sentenced to five years imprisonment with hard labour.

Thus failed the rebellion of the Adibasis against oppression and injustice. Unlike Ravenshaw, Toynbee, the Superintendent for the Tributary Mahals wanted to do justice to the people.

Toynbee held the Raja of Keonjhar responsible for the oppression on the Bhuyans which caused the rebellion and sent H. Wylly, Manager of Mayurbhanj, to Keonjhar to take charge of the administration of the State. The Raja who was staying at Cuttack, sent a representation to the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. The Lieutenant Governor came to Bhadrak and met the Raja and some 'Sardars' of Keonjhar. He re-instated the Raja but appointed Nandakishore Das as the Agent for the Government in the State (302).

(302). *Utkal Dipika* 27th February 1892

The Agent was to supervise the work of administration so that the subjects might get justice (see Appendix)

The Kondh rising

In 1882, the Kondhs of Kalahandi rose against the Kultas who economically exploited them, backed by the Raja of Kalahandi. A few Kultas were murdered. Soldiers were sent from Raipur, Ganjam and Sambalpur to suppress the rising. Ten Sardars of the Kondhs were captured and hanged for complicity in the murder of the Kultas. The Kondh rising was thus crushed, but the Kultas were afraid of going back to their villages for cultivation (303).

Throughout the 19th century and in the first half of the 20th century, the Adivasis thus fought against economic exploitation and denial of human rights which were enjoyed by their more civilized brethren.

III. GROWTH OF EDUCATION

Several causes retarded the growth of education in the first half of the 19th century, which affected the progress in the second half. Among them, the following were important :

1. Conservatism of the people.
2. Unpopularity of English education.
3. No incentive for English education
4. Non-availability of Text books.

The orthodox people, specially the Brahmins, did not like English education, which in their opinion, instilled hatred againt Hindu religion. The failure of the Puri English school was due to conservatism of the people. Wilkinson, Collector of Puri, started 'Puri Free Academy' in 1835. As no teacher was available at Puri, Ganganarayan Bose of Calcutta was appointed. There were 25 students, who were mostly sons of the Government servants. The Headmaster in his first Report pointed out : "The inhabitants of the town, chiefly consists of the priests of the temple of Juggernath, to whom a knowledge of the *Shaster* is more important than the English language" (304).

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(303). *Utkal Dipika* 'Kalahandira bidroha' 24th June 1882

(304). P. R. Sen : "Pooree English School"—J. B. O. R. S. 1941 pt 4

Ganganarayan Bose fell ill and resigned. The next Headmaster was a European, who was appointed on a salary of rupees 100. He also resigned. In 1840, the English school was converted into a Vernacular school and a Headmaster was appointed on a salary of rupees 15. In 1859, the Lieutenant Governor visited the Vernacular school. The building was a kutcha one consisting of a single room. Cockburn complained that the people of Puri were unwilling to subscribe for the erection of a school house or to educate their children. He recommended the construction of a new school building in honour of the visit of the Lieutenant Governor. Cockburn also deplored the negligence of the Government (305).

Unpopularity of English education

The population of ihe coastal districts was decimated by the famine and the recovery from its after-effects was slow. This fact, added to the conservatism of the people accounted for the unpopularity of English education. In 1873, Janardan Mahapatra joined the Medical College in Calcutta after passing the Entrance examination. He was threatened with excommunication for dissecting corpses (306). In 1872, only 164 boys were reading in the Cuttack High school (307).

But gradually the number of students increased. In 1869, nine students appeared for the Entrance Examination from the three schools in Orissa, and six passed. In 1868, ten out of thirteen candidates from the three schools, passed the Entrance examination. In 1869 only the Cuttack zilla school produced good results (308).

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(305). "Lacs and lacs of rupees have been spent in almost every Division of Bengal except Orissa"

G. F. Cockburn, Commissioner, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal 23rd February 1859.

(306). *Utkal Putra* 17th June 1874.

Before him two Oriya students passed the V. L. M. S. examination course from Bengal. One of them Jagannath Mahanti, subsequently worked as Native doctor at Khurda with distinction.

(307). *Utkal Dipika* 6th March 1872.

Only 30 students were reading in the First Year class in the Ravenshaw College in 1889 23rd March 1889.

(308). Seven students from the Cuttack zilla school passed the Entrance examination, of whom three passed in the First Division. The D. P. I., Bengal, sanctioned one month's salary as reward to the teachers.

Utkal Dipika 6th March 1869.

The number of candidates for the Entrance examination from Orissa did not exceed forty in any year in the last quarter of the 19th century.

For the F. A. course the response was worse. In 1868 Madhusudan Das passed the F. A. examination from the L. M. S. Institution. Calcutta. In 1869 Radhanath Rai passed the F. A. examination as a private candidate. In 1870 Jadumani Ghosh alone passed the examination from the Cuttack 'High school'. In 1871 Gopimohan Sen alone and in 1872, Chaturbhuj Patnaik and Samson Das passed the F. A. examination from the Cuttack 'High school'.

Between 1879 and 1885 only 18 Oriya students passed the F. A. examination from the Cuttack 'High school'. This fact shows that the population of coastal Orissa had not yet been in stable equilibrium after the ravages of the famine.

We now discuss the B. A. examination results. Madhusudan Das passed the B. A. examination from the L. M. S. Institution, Calcutta, in 1870. In 1878, five students were sent up from the Cuttack College and went to Calcutta to appear in the B. A. examination. All of them failed. In 1879, Gopimohan Sen, Samson Raut, Jadunath Ray and Ananda Chandra Mahanti went to Calcutta to appear in the examination. They also failed (309).

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(309). There were several reasons for the failure. The Principal S. Ager was inefficient. 'Old Mr. Ager' was advised to retire by a correspondent (*Utkal Dipika* dated 26th November 1881). Secondly, no good teacher liked to come to Cuttack because of the difficulty of communications. Railway line was opened only at the end of the century, on the 6th March, 1899, and that too, from Kolaghat to Cuttack. The third reason was that "many students after passing the Entrance examination are compelled to put a stop to their college education on account of the high rate of fees" *Utkal Dipika* dated the 23rd March 1889). As there was no restriction, some Bengalis came from Bengal to study in the Ravenshaw College in order to obtain scholarships.

In 1880, Durgacharan Sahu alone passed the examination, being placed in the Third Division (310). In 1881, four students appeared in the B. A. examination, from the Ravenshaw College. Janaki Ballabh Ghosh alone passed in the Third Division. In 1882, Janaki Nath Bose alone passed the B. A. examination from the Ravenshaw College. He was placed in the Second Division. In 1883, seven students appeared. Gokulananda Chaudhury, Brahmananda Das, Gopal Ballabh Das and two more students passed. In 18E4 five students appeared of whom two passed. Ganapati Das secured high place in the First Division. In 1885, four appeared. Gagan Bihari Chaudhury, Mayadhar Das and another student passed.

Lack of private enterprise

Absence of popular enthusiasm in the beginning did not encourage the spread of education by private enterprise. A 'Urdu' school was started from which one Hindu student passed the Entrance examination. The school was closed before August 1880. The Cuttack Academy, started by Peary Mohan Acharya, was made a Higher English school in 1879. In 1882, it sent three students for the Entrance examination of whom two passed. Another school was started at Lakshmannath in the Balasore district. The Protestant School (subsequently Mission School) at Cuttack sent a candidate for the Entrance examination in 1883, but he failed. In 1880, a 'Central' school was started at Chandnichouk, teaching up to M. E. standard. Madhusudan Rao started another M. E. school, called the Town school which was later on raised to the Entrance standard. In 1899, there were ten High schools in Orissa.

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(310). Durgacharan Sahu's success was a memorable event in the history of the Ravenshaw College. The Government ordered that 'the College classes' would be abolished if no student passes the examination even in the third year. When the news of Durgacharan's success came, Ager was overwhelmed with joy, and shouted that 'he had passed', forgetting the name of the student. The College was closed to celebrate the occasion.

But the editor of of the *Utkal Dipika* was more critical. He pointed out that though more than 50 thousand rupees had been spent, only one student had passed so far. He suggested that the 'the college classes' be abolished from this institution, "which is a college only in name" and with that money scholarships be given to students to study in the Engineering and Medical Colleges in Calcutta.

Utkal Dipika 6th March 1880

The female education was at first sadly neglected. In 1871, Cuttack Girl's School was started at Balubazar by Abinash Chatterjee, the pioneer of female education in Orissa. In 1881, twenty-five girls were reading in the school. Miss Crawford an American Missionary lady, started a Primary school for girls at Jalesvar. Girls from this school appeared in the lower Primary scholarship examination in 1882 (311).

Government institutions

The failure of the English school at Puri was a convenient excuse for not extending English education. The Despatch of Sir Charles Wood in 1854 on education laid the foundation of a new educational system. Provisions were made in the zilla schools at Cuttack, Balasore and Puri for teaching up to the Entrance standard.

In January 1868, the 'High school' classes were started with six students of whom four had passed from the Cuttack school and two from Balasore school (312). Rajakrishna Mukherjee was appointed Law 'Instructor' of the Cuttack school (313).

Chandicharan Banerjee, teacher of Hare school was appointed Headmaster on a salary of rupees 250.

There was an agitation for making the 'High school' a 'college' by introducing B. A. Classes. But the Government was not prepared to meet the entire expenditure and wanted contribution from the public. There was a good response (314), and the school was made a College in 1876. S. Ager, Joint Inspector of Schools was appointed the first Principal of the College. In 1879 the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj donated rupees twenty thousand for the improvement of the Cuttack College which was renamed Ravenshaw College according to his suggestion. In 1883, Raja of Keonjhar donated rupees five thousand for the construction of a hostel for the college (315). The Ravenshaw College thus came into existence due to the munificence of some Rajas and Zamindars.

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(311). *Utkal Dipika* 6th May 1882.
(312). *Utkal Dipika* 11th January 1868.
(313). *Utkal Dipika* 6th Mach 1869.
(314). Maharaja of Burdwan and Maharaja of Vizianagram donated rupees six thousand each. Devendra Nath Tagore contributed rupees 2,500. Maharani Svarnàmayee 'who had no interests in Orissa' contributed rupees 2,000.
Utkal Dipika 20th October 1875.
(315) *Utkal Dipika* 21st July 1883.

In 1883, Law classes were opened and Madhusudan Das was appointed Law Lecturer.

A Normal (Training) school was started at Cuttack in January 1869 and Dwarakanath Chakravarti was appointed Headmaster. With the help of Dr. W. D. Stewart, Civil Surgeon, Ravenshaw established a Medical school at Cuttack in January 1876.

Growth of cultural societies

The spead of educational ideas led to the growth of cultural societies. In 1871, there were three cultural societies at Cuttack to promote culture. K. C. Ghosh, Advocate of the Calcutta High court gave a lecture on 'Patriotism' under the suspices of the Cuttack Debating Club (316), In 1880, Lalitmohan Chakravarti started a 'Siksha Bidhaika Sabha' (Society for the advancement of education).

The students of the Ravenshaw College formed a Cuttack Students Association. On the 10th May, 1882 Madhusudan Das M. A., B. L. gave a lecture on an indigestible topic 'The theory of natural selections in its bearings on the origin of man'. Efforts were also made for the improvement of Oriya language. In 1867, a Society was started for the development of 'Utkal Bhasha' with Radhanath Rai as the President (317).

Publication of Journals

Before the Famine, there was only one magazine in Orissa, named *Bodhodayini*. It was published from Balasore in 1861 (318). But a new era dawned after the Famine. In 1869, Bhagavati Charan Das started *Utkal Subhakari* to propagate the Brahmo faith. It continued up to 1870. The *Samvada Vahika* was published from Balasore in 1868 The Utkal Society of Cuttack started *Utkal Hitaishini* in 1869.

During the last three decades of the 19th century, a number of daily, weekly even fortnightly papers were published in Oriya. Utkal, *Dipika*, *Putra* and *Hitaishini* from Cuttack and *Utkal Darpana* and *Samvada Vahika* from Balasore made the people politically conscious. In 1880, Dinanath Banerjee edited a short-lived journal named *Bidesi*.

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(316). *Utkal Dipika* 9th December 1868.

(317). *Utkal Dipika* 26th January 1878.

(318). *Utkal Dipika* 29th June 1872.

Some English journals were also started after the famine. In 1868, Cuttack, *Standard* and *Argus* were published but these English weeklies did not survive for more than a few months. Kalipada Banerjee started *Orissa Patriot*, another short-lived English weekly. An English weekly named *Orissa Students* edited by Lakshminaryan Dasgupta was published from Kendrapara (319).

Thus, we find that the people made use of western education when it was extended to Orissa. If political consciousness was somewhat delayed in Orissa, it was due to the apathy of the Government in spreading western education.

Absence of incentive

The third factor, which hindered the growth of education was the absence of any incentive.

Seton-Karr, a Missionary, wrote that the Oriyas did not hanker after higher education, because all Government services were monopolized by the Bengalis (320). In his opinion, 'the desiderated impetus to education' would be given, if the Oriyas were allotted larger share in the appointments in Orissa.

True to their policy of 'Divide and Rule', the British administrators in Orissa professed sympathy for the Oriyas by depicting the Bengalis serving in Orissa as parasites, without making any discrimination between those who had come from Bengal and those who had settled in Orissa and identified themselves with the interests of the Oriyas. Some of the Bengali officers, coming from Bengal, must be accused of favouritism; but they came because the Oriyas were not appointed to high posts, by those who professed sympathy for the people of the soil.

Long after his retirement, Sir Henry Ricketts (who was the Commissioner of Orissa trom 1835 to 1838) wrote a letter expressing sympathy for the aspiration of the Oriyas. He wrote that William Wilkinson, Collector of Puri, is the person, "to whom honour is due of first giving the Oriyas opportunity of showing their fitness for public employment".

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(319). *Utkal Dipika* 4th September 1886

(320). Seton Karr's letter to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal 19th October 1860.

See Appendix for Extract. This letter has been quoted in 'Vernacular Education in Orissa', *Calcutta Review* 1863 pp. 67-68 But even Seton-Karr did not advocate higher education in Orissa. He suggested the establishment of 'Vernacular zilla schools with 'Abecedarian' masters on rupees 30 per month.

In his opinion, the experiment of "appointing Oriyas in the administration of Orissa was an unqualified success" (321).

Sir Henry forgot that Chaturbhuj Patnaik of Khurda was the only Oriya revenue officer, when he was the Commissioner of Orissa. The Government appointed his son Madhusudan Patnaik as Deputy Magistrate in 1843. Subsequently, Gobardhan Swain was appointed Deputy Magistrate. In 1857, Narasimha Charan Das and Duryodhan Das and in 1858, Sadananda Jachuk were appointed Deputy Magistrates. Narasimha was subsequently dismissed from service. Ravenshaw appointed him Dewan of Dhenkanal.

In 1872, there were only three Deputy Magistrates from Orissa, Sadananda Jachuk, Nandakishor Das son of Narasimha Das and Jagmohan Ray (322).

Ravenshaw, who was the Commissioner of Orissa for 12 years, appointed only Nandakishor Das to a high post (323)

After the retirement of Dinabandhu Patnaik (324), Tahsildar of the Khondmahals, Banamali Singh of Dhenkanal was appointed to his post in 1871; but his services were required by the Raja of Dhenkanal and he resigned. In 1875, Bichhanda Patnaik, Deputy Inspector of Schools, Sambalpur, was appointed Tahsildar of Angul.

In 1880, Harekrushna Das, Sub-Deputy Magistrate, was promoted to the post of Deputy Magistrate (325). In 1875, Shivaprasad

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(321). "All the details of the settlements of Orissa were conducted by the Oriya Deputy Collectors and it is not too much to say that their excellent conduct, the efficiency and honesty which trust and sympathy produced, had beneficial effects" Sir H. Ricketts, letter to the Editor, *Calcutta Review* 1868, p 235.

(322). "Our Commissioner Srijut Ravenshaw says many things about the welfare of Orissa. But in practice he has appointed only one, and not even two, to a high post".

Utkal Dipika 10th August 1872.

(323). *Utkal Dipika* 23rd February 1878.

(324). Dinabandhu Patnaik saved the life of Lieutenant Macneill, at Orladhoni. His services went unrewarded till his retirement, when he received the title of Rai Bahadur.

(325). "There were so far only two Oriya Deputy Magistrates. Now there would be three".

Utkal Dipika 20th November 1880.

Singh, Munsiff retired (326). In 1883, the Commissioner recommended that Rashbihari Patnaik, Sub-Deputy Magistrate, be promoted to the grade of Deputy Magistrate as a special case, but the Government was not prepared to accept his recommendation. In the 19th century only two Oriya Deputy Magistrates were given the senior-most grade of the cadre (327).

With the introduction of the competitive examination for the Executive service, the chance of the Oriyas for getting into the service became meagre. Apart from the inconvenience of communication, it became difficult for the Oriya students to compete with the Bengalis, enjoying the educational facilities of the capital of India.

The Government did not patronize Ganapati Das, Chaturbhuj Patnaik or Gopal Ballabh Das (328). Gangadhar Misra, who passed the F. A. examination in 1880 in the Second Division could not continue his studies, probably due to pecuniary difficulties (329). Lastly, even Durgacharan Sahu, the first graduate from the Ravenshaw College, was not considered suitable for a high post.

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(326). "After his retirement, there will for the time no Oriya in the post of Munsiff"

Utkal Dipika 3rd April 1875.

(327). They were Jagmohan Ray and Nandkishor Das. Jagmohan Ray read in the Cuttack School and in the Hooghly college. He worked for some time as P. W. D. Overseer. R. N. Shore appointed him Deputy Magistrate. Nandakishor Das rose to be the Assistant Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals.

(328). Ganapati Das stood thirteenth in order of merit in the B. A. examination, in 1884. In 1889, he stood second in B. L. examination. Chaturbhuj Patnaik passed the F. A. examination from the Cuttack 'High school' in 1872 and the B. A. examination from a Calcutta college. The 'first graduate from Orissa' had to work as a Deputy Inspector of School at Balasore for many years before he got a chance to be the Government Translator. Gopal Ballabh Das became M. A. in Botany in 1884, being the second Oriya M. A. Between 1880 and 1884, three Bengali students got scholarships to study agriculture in England. But Gopal Ballabh Das's case was not considered.

(329). The Senior grade scholarship in 1880 went to Janaki Nath Bose who passed the F. A. examination from the Ravenshaw College in the First Division. He came from Bengal to study at Cuttack and subsequently settled there.

Progress of Vernacular Education

The incentive to Vernacular education was given by the Government decision to appoint only literate persons to posts with a salary of six rupees or more (330). The Director of Public Instruction wanted to know to what extent the officers were insisting on the 'scholastic acquirements' of the candidates at the time of appointing them. That in his opinion, "would afford a great stimulus to education" (331). T. E. Ravenshaw established a number of vernacular schools in Moffussil places (332).

One obstacle that impeded the progress of vernacular education in Orissa was the non-availability of text-books. Before the Famine, there was less than a dozen books in the markets. The Government published eight books, for which there was no demand, because of the prohibitive price (333). In 1858, no text-book was available for a price less than annas twelve (334). Thus education was not within the reach of poor people.

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(330). The Government notification dated 22nd April 1858; Commissioner, Orissa to the Magistrate, Cuttack
30th November 1858.

In the Central Salt division, only two persons, drawing less than rupees ten per month, could read or write.

Salt officer, Cuttack to the Magistrate, Cuttack 17th July 1857.

(331). W. Gordon, D. P. I. to the Commissioner, Orissa
15th April 1858.

(332). T. E. Ravenshaw to Secretary, Government of Bengal
5th January 1873.

Ravenshaw hoped that there would be 'less of Babudom' and more real work, with the growth of education in Orissa.

(333). The first part of the *Hitopadesha*, and Oriya grammar were printed in the Baptist Mission Press, Cuttack, in 1857. The cost of printing 300 copies of tha *Hitopadesha* consisting of 60 pages was rupees 150. Thus the high price of the book was due to the cost of production.

(334). The following text-books, published by the Government, were supplied to the minor Zamindar of Dompara.

Nitikatha—As 12
Hitopadesha—As 12
Oriya grammar—Re 1
Oriya geography—Rs 1/15
Oriya arithmetic—Rs. 1/9
Batrisa Simhasana—Rs 2

R. N. Shore, Magistrate to Commissioner, Orissa 29th July 1858.

The situation however improved after the Famine. The Calcutta Book Society and Utkal Printing Company published books priced even six annas .(335).

IV. GROWTH OF POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Political consciousness was aroused in Orissa, partly due to the spread of English education and partly as a protest against the Bengali agitation against Oriya language and domination in higher appointments.

Between 1868 and 1872, some Bengalis attempted to replace Oriya by Bengali as the medium of instruction in the schools in Orissa. They made an agitation that education would not spread in Orissa unless Bengali was introduced, as text-books were not available in Oriya (see Appendix). This unjust agitation was vehemently opposed in Orissa.

The *Utkal Dipika* and other Oriya papers demanded the appointment of Oriyas in the education department (336). As a result of the agitation by the Oriya papers, Nandakishor Das, Deputy Magistrate, was appointed Joint Inspector of Schools for Orissa (337). He wanted reversion to the executive service and in 1877, Radhanath Rai was appointed Joint Inspector of Schools by J. Beames, officiating Commissioner.

Many of the officers who came from Bengal took no interest in Oriya language and Culture. The result was that competent officers

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(335). In 1870, Calcutta Book Society published *Bhugola Tattva.* The price was six annas.

(336). The editor of the *Utkal Dipika* protested against the appointment of Bengalis, having no knowledge of Oriya in the Education department.

Utkal Dipika 1st September 1867.

(337). After the Famine, Orissa was created a separate circle and Robert Perri was appointed Inspector of Schools. Perri wanted that the Education office be separated from the office of the Commissioner, of which it formed a part at that time. This was resented by Ravenshaw, 'the Patriarch', who reported to the Government that no separate Circle was necessary for Orissa, as there were few schools. The separate Circle was abolished and Orissa was included within the Western Circle and a Joint Inspector was appointed to look after the schools in Orissa. S. Ager was appointed as Joint Inspector of Schools and when he became the Principal of the Ravenshaw College the post was offered to Nandakishor Das.

like Ramakshaya Chatterjee, Nabin Chandra Sen, and Rangalal Banerjee, who was the Secretary of the Cuttack College and wrote a Bengali poem on the well-known Kanchi-Kaveri tradition, were not popular in Orissa. (338).

The reaction against the domination by the outsiders began in the last quarter of the 19th century under the leadership af M. S. Das. He took a leading part in the formation of Orissa Graduates and Undergraduate Association, to protect the interests of the educated people of Orissa (339).

Western education widened the mental horizon of the people, and some political organizations came to existence. Probably the earliest of them was the Utkal Hitabadini Sabha of Berhampore organized by William Mahanti (340).

The landholders of Orissa formed an Association with Beharilal Pundit as President. The Association forwarded their views on the proposed Local Self Government to the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal (341).

Utkal Sabha

In 1882, Orissa Association or Utkal Sabha was started with Gaurisankar Ray as Secretary. The first meeting of the Orissa Association or Utkal Sabha was held in 21st July 1882 for considering the best means of introducing Local Self-Government in India.

Dinanath Banerjee started a rival organization named Orissa People's Association and sent a petition on Bengal Tenancy Act, which was presented to the House of Commons in 1883 by George Campbell. But Orissa People's Association had a short span of life.

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(338). But we are indebted to two Deputy Magistrate for their historical researches. Chandra Sekhar Banerjee 'discovered' Lalitagiri and Udayagiri. Manmohan Chakravarti, who received his education in Orissa, was the first historian to write the history of Orissa on scientific lines.

R. C. Dutt and K. G. Gupta, Commissioners, laboured for the welfare of Orissa.

(339). *Utkal Dipika* 17th March 1888.

(340). *Utkal Dipika* 15th December 1872.

(341). *Utkal Dipika* 12th July 1882.

A meeting of the Utkal Sabha, held on the 19th December 1886, under the chairmanship of Kalipada Banerjee, unanimously passed a resolution urging the Government to reconstitute the Legislative Council and to introduce the principle of election. On the 29th January, it passed a resolution asking the people to join the Congress. At a meeting of the Utkal Sabha, held on the 16th February 1888 a resolution was passed protesting against the imposition of the Salt tax by the Government. Madhusudan Das organized a meeting of the Sabha at Kendrapara in March 1888.

In his speech he advised the Oriyas to unite and to put pressure on the Government to redress their grievances. A branch ot the Utkal Sabha was formed at Kendrapara.

The first event which deeply stirred the imagination of the people was the order of the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces dated the 15th January 1895, directing the abolition of Oriya as the Court language of Sambalpur. and the introduction of Hindi in its place, to facilitate the transfer of officials. On the 20th June 1895, the Utkal Sabha sent a Memorial to Lord Elgin, Viceroy of India. It was pointed out that Oriya of Sambalpur has 'an admixture of Hindi' in it and thus, the officers transferred to Sambalpur would find no difficulty in picking up that language. The memorialists asserted that denial to the people "of the use of their mother tongue is the worst form of gagging and is yet unknown even in the most despotic form of Government". They hoped that "the unusual and arbitrary measure" adopted by the Chief Commissioner would not be allowed to take effect.

Prominent citizens of Cuttack like Madhusudan Das, Gokulananda Chaudhury and Gaurisankar Ray condemned the attitude of the C. P. Government in public meetings. Public meetings were also held at Balasore, Sambalpur, Puri and at Parlakimedi. Padmanabh Narayan Deb of Parlakimedi declared that all Oriyas should combine and agitate for the repeal of the order. Letters from different parts of Orissa were received and published in the *Utkal Dipika* expressing indignation for the proposed abolition of Oriya as the Court language of Sambalpur.

Some of the Papers of Calcutta sympathized with the movement and urged the Government of India to revoke the decision of the Chief Commissioner. But the Government of India paid no heed to the storm of protest and on the 8th November 1895, approved the recommendation of the Chief Commissioner. Oriya was thus temporarily banished as a court language from Sambalpur.

Though the movement against the exclusion of Oriya from Sambalpur failed, it produced good results.

Out of the sense of frustration, the Oriya movement, demanding a separate province for the Oriya speaking people, took shape. The Oriyas felt that Oriya language and culture are not safe in the outlying areas and they now demanded the unification of those tracts with Orissa, so that a separate province might be formed.

In 1898 Madhusudan Das was elected to the Bengal legislative council. He asked questions regarding Revenue settlement and the policy of the salt department in Orissa. He also moved a resolution in the Council for adequate appointment of the people of Orissa in the provincial service (342).

The people of Sambalpur made another representation to the Viceroy for re-introduction of Oriya as court-language. Madhusudan Das sent a wire to the Viceroy, supporting the representation. He also requested for the amalgamation of Sambalpur with Orissa.

The *Utkal Dipika* also voiced the grievance of the people. It bitterly criticized the imposition of additional tax on cartmen and washermen of Puri (343). K. G. Gupta, Commissioner, sought an explanation from the Collector of Puri in this connection (344).

The Swadeshi agitation in Bengal had its effects on Orissa's political life. *Utkal Dipika* (345) and *Navasamvada* (346) of Balasore expressed the hope that the Swadesi agitation would give impetus to the production of indegenous articles in Orissa.

The 'father' of the Terrorist movement in Bengal which began in the wake of the Swadeshi movement, was Hem Chandra Kanungo, an Oriya domiciled in Bengal.

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(342). *Utkal Dipika* 15th June 1901.

(343). *Utkal Dipika* 13th July 1901.

(344). A. Garett, Magistrate, Puri to K. G. Gupta, Commissioner 16th August 1901.

(345). *Utkal Dipika* 2nd September 1905.

(346). *Nabasamvada* 30th August 1905.

V. THE CONGRESS MOVEMENT

The meeting of the Indian National Congress in Bombay aroused great enthusiasm in Orissa. On the 3rd March, 1886 a public meeting consisting of people of all communities was held in the building of the Cuttack Printing Company. The meeting unanimously accepted all the resolutions passed by the National Congress. A meeting of the Utkal Sabha was held on the 19th December 1886 under the chairmanship of Kalipada Banerjee. Madhusudan Das, Ram Sankar Ray, Gokulananda Chaudhury, Pundit Govinda Rath, Golok Chandra Bose and Hariballabh Bose took part in the discussion regarding the introduction of elective principles in the Bengal Legislative Council.

The following were elected delegates to represent the Utkal Sabha in the Calcutta session of the National Congress.

1. Madhusudan Das
2. Golok Chandra Bose
3. Kalipada Banerjee
4. Hariballabh Bose

The Jatiya Sabha or National Association of Balasore nominated the following delegates.

1. Baikuntha Nath De
2. Bhagaban Chandra Das
3. Ramesh Chandra Mandal

In 1887, Rev. Shem Sahu and Harekrushna Das of the Balasore National Association and Madhusudan Das and Gaurisankar Ray, delegates from the Utkal Sabha attended the Madras session of the National Congress.

On the 29th January 1888, a meeting of the Utkal Sabha was held in the building of the Cuttack Printing Company. Those members of the Utkal Sabha, who attended the Madras session of the National Congress explained the aims and objects of the Congress, and exhorted the people to join the national organization. To explain the resolutions passed in the Congress, a public meeting was held in the Municipal market on the 16th Febuary 1888. Madhusudan Das, Raghu Sahu, Ekram Ali and Jagamohan Ray took active part in the deliberations. The meeting also deputed Madhusudan Das to organize a meeting at Kendrapara. Madhusudan Das went to Kendrapara and asked the people to join the national organization in their own interest.

From this time onward, Madhusudan Das, who lived to be the grand old man of Orissa, became the leader of the national movement. A meeting of the Utkal Sabha was held on the 4th October unders the chairmanship of Madhusudan Das. The following members were elected representatives to the Bengal branch of the National Congress.

1. Madhusudan Das
2. Jagamohan Ray
3. Janakinath Bose
4. Lalbehari Ghosh

A meeting of the Utkal Sabha was held on the 4th December 1888, to elect delegates to the Allahabad session of the National Congress. The following members were elected delegates.

1. Behari Lal Pundit
2. Jagamohan Ray
3. Shyamsundar Rajguru
4. Madhusudan Das
5. Samson Raut
6. Munshi Sultan Ahmad
7. Munshi Muhammad Atahar

Only Samson Raut and Muhammad Atahar attended the Allahabad session of the Congress.

The National Association of Balasore sent the following delegates to attend the Allahabad session of the National Congress.

1. Ramesh Chandra Mandal
2. Bhagaban Chandra Das
3. Bhuyan Abdus Sobhan

A public meeting was held under tha auspices of the Utkal Sabha on the 7th February 1889, under the chairmanship of Sri Madhusudan Das. Samson Raut and Munshi Muhammad Atahar, who had attended the Allahabad session of the Congress, explained to the audience the significance of the resolutions passed at Allahabad.

On the 19th December 1889, a meeting of the Utkal Sabha elected the following as delegates to the Bombay session of the Congress.

1. Nimai Charan Mitra
2. Lal Behari Ghosh
3. Madhusudan Das
4. Janakinath Bose
5. Radhabinod Basu
6. Bepin Behari Mitra

The first four were also elected representatives to the Bengal Provincial Congress.

The Utkal Sabha lost public sympathy because it was dominated by the Bengalis. It was Madhusudan, who by his efforts, gradually brought the Sabha under the control of the Oriyas. The tenth session of the Congress was held at Madras in December 1894. From Orissa, Samson Raut, Madhusudan Das and Gokulananda Chaudhury attended the session.

Kumar Padmanabh Narayan Deb of Parlakimedi established Utkal Hitaishini Sabha at Parlakimedi with the help of Syamasundar Rajguru. The Hitaishini Sabha sent delegates to the Madras (1894) Poona (1895) and Calcutta (1896) sessions of the Congress.

The following representatives of the Utkal Sabha attended the Poona and Calcutta sessions of the Congress.

1. Madhusudan Das—President.
2. Jajnesvar Chandra—Vice-President.
3. Gaurisankar Ray.
4. Gokulananda Chaudhury.

Kumar Padmanabha Narayan Deb and Syamasundar Rajguru on behalf of the Utkal Hitaishini Sabha and Ramesh Chandra Mandal from the National Association, Balasore attended the Poona and Calcutta sessions.

Representatives of the Utkal Sabha regularly attended all the sessions of the Congress. We find new names among the delegates. Nandakumar Bal, Gopal Chandra Praharaj Biswanath Rao and Madhusudan Rao took interest in the 'activities of the Congress.

Names of Narayan Chandra Pradhan, Rev. Shem Sahu, Samson Raut, Gokulananda Chaudhury, Muhammad Atahar, Ramesh Chandra Mandal are now forgotten. But they were the pioneers in the Congress movement in Orissa. In the first decade of the 20th century, Madhusudan Das gradually disassociated himself from the Congress activities and leadership passed to Pundit Gopabandhu Das.

In 1911, on the eve of the formation of the new province of Bihar and Orissa, the following delegates from the Utkal Sabha attended the Calcutta session of the Congress.

1. Munshi Shekh Muhammad Bux.
2. Ananta Kumar Dasgupta.
3. Banbehari Palit.
4. Biswanath Kar.
5. Gaurisankar Ray.
6. Mihirlal Jachuk.
7. Priyanath Chatterjee.
8. Durgaprasanna Dasgupta.
9. Radhaprasad Bhagat.

In the next decade, the Utkal Sabha was merged into the Congress organization in Orissa. But it had served its purpose by making the people of Orissa politically conscious.

VI. AGITATION FOR THE AMALGAMATION OF ORIYA SPEAKING TRACTS.

The Oriyas outside Orissa suffered from various disabilities. Kumar Padmanabha Narayan Deb of Parlakimedi founded a Utkal Hitaishini Samaj to fight against the injustice done to the Oriyas of Ganjam. The exclusion of Oriya as the court language of Sambalpur created great sensation throughout Orissa. On the 10th May 1895, a meeting of the citizens of Cuttack under the chairmanship of Madhusudan Das unanimously passed a resolution that all Oriya speaking tracts should be amalgamated.

Such an agitation was not new. In 1875, Raja Shamananda Deb of Balasore and Bichitrananda Patnaik presented a Memorial to the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, for uniting all the scattered parts of Orissa under single administration (347).

But there was no popular enthusiasm in 1875. The situation was different in 1895.

The Commissioner of Orissa supported the movement for amalgamation. In his administrative report dated the 23rd February 1895, he observed : "As a question of administrative reform for which there is much to be said, I have to advocate the extension of the Divisional boundaries so as to include the whole area populated by the races speaking the Oriya language, or at any rate, some definite areas adjoining Orissa where the Oriya language prevails".

He suggested that the Sambalpur district, some Tributary States and the whole or part of the Ganjam district should be transferred to Orissa.

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(347). In 1902, Raja Baikunth Nath De of Balasore presented a Memorial to Lord Curzon for the amalgamation of Oriya speaking tracts.

At Cuttack, a committee was formed with Maharaja of Mayurbhanj as the President and Madhusudan Das as the Secretary to devise ways and means for the amalgamation of Oriya speaking tracts.

The Oriya leaders of Sambalpur waited on deputation on Sir Andrew Fraser, Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, in July 1901. In their Memorial, they pointed out that "if it was thought impossible to have Oriya as the language in one Central Provinces district, they would prefer to be transferred to Orissa".

Sir Andrew appreciated the idea and wrote to the Government of India suggesting that Sambalpur be better joined with Orissa. The entire integrated area might remain in Bengal or be transferred to the Central Provinces. Madhusudan Das sent a wire to the Viceroy, supporting the Memorial of the people of Sambalpur. He suggested that Orissa should be made a Chief Commissioner's province (348).

Sir C. River, Secretary to the Government of India, submitted a note on January 29, 1902 to the effect that the idea of transferring Orissa from Bengal or forming Orissa into a separate Chief Commissionership cannot be entertained. In the latter part of 1902, the Oriyas of Ganjam submitted a Memorial to Lord Curzon (349).

They described themselves 'as a limb separated from the body'. They requested the Government of India to bring together the scattered Oriya speaking tracts "under the Government of Bengal or under any one Government and one University".

Madhusudan Das felt that the Utkal Sabha must be broadbased to receive the support of all Oriya-speaking people. He convened an informal meeting and invited all prominent persons including those who had come to Cuttack on the occasion of the Durbar of January 1903. On the 2nd April 1903, a meeting was held under the auspices of the Utkal Sabha. Ii was resolved that a Memorial be submitted to the Viceroy for the transfer of the Oriya speaking portions of the districts of Ganjam, Vizagapatam Agency Sambalpur, Chhotanagpur and Midnapur to Orissa, "so far as this can be done having regard to territorial contiguity" or to raise Orissa Division to a Chief Commissionership, like that of Assam "whichever of those

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(348). *Utkal Dipika* 14th September 1901.

(349). Lord Curzon was the first Viceroy who visited Orissa. He came in December 1900. Lord Mayo would have visited Orissa, but he was assassinated.

two measures is in the opinion of the Government better calculated to secure the advancement of the race".

Gokulananda Chaudhury advocated the Union with the Central Provinces and not with Bengal. Early in 1903, the Ganjam Oriyas met under the Raja of Khallikote. During the Easter holidays in 1903, a meeting of the Ganjam Jatiya Samiti was held at Berhampore. The meeting expressed the desire of the Oriyas of Ganjam to be united with Orissa.

In 1903, the Government of India was considering the partition of Bengal. Lord Curzon was sympathetic towards the aspiration of the Oriyas and wanted to include all the Oriya speaking tracts within the new province of West Bengal and Bihar. H. H. Risley, Home Secretary to the Government of India wrote that such an arrangement "would result in handing over the Oriya problem to one Government alone on a scale and with a unity that would admit of its being treated with consistence and efficiency" (350).

The Utkal Sammilani or Union conference was the symbol of the awakening of the Oriya people. Madhusudan Das attended the Ganjam National conference in April, 1903 and the enthusiasm of the Oriyas of Ganjam inspired him to convene a conference on a larger scale.

The conference was held at Cuttack on the 30th and 31st December 1903. The meeting was presided by the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj, and was attended dy K. G. Gupta, Commissioner, and by the Chiefs of Dhenkanal, Keonjhar, Athgarh and Talcher. The Raja of Keonjhar moved a resolution to the effect that the scattered Oriya speaking tracts be amalgamated with Orissa, so as to form a Chief Commissionership.

In the Madras Session of the National Congress in 1903, the question of the partition of Bengal was discussed. The Telegus got a resolution passed opposing the separation of Ganjam from the Madras province. The Secretary to the Government of Bengal intimated that the Lieutenant Governor "from his own experience", was able to give strong support to the proposal for uniting under one administration all Oriya speaking people (351).

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(350). H. H. Risley to the Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal 3rd December 1903.

(351). Secretary to Government of Bengal to Secretary to the Government of India 6th April 1904.

The Chief Commissioner of the C. P. agreed to the transfer of Sambalpur (without Phuljhar and Chandrapur) and of the Oriya speaking Garhjat States. But Lord Ampthill, Governor of Madras, was opposed to the transfer of Ganjam to Orissa. It was pointed out that "it is useless to strive after an administration based on linguistic uniformity, which both geographical and ethnological conditions combined with the ordinary course of trade and commerce and consequent commingling of races render absolutely incapable of satisfactory fulfilment".

Sir Andrew Fraser, then Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, challenged that statement and pointed out that ethnologically and geographically some parts of the Ganjam district belong to Orissa. The Madras Government now insisted that in the event of the transfer of Ganjam to Bengal, the whole district with a Telugu majority in the South, is to be incorporated with Orissa.

Sir Andrew Fraser was not prepared to take a Telugu-speaking territory, which would cause administrative problem.

To the great misfortune of the Oriyas, Lord Curzon went on leave and Lord Ampthill, Governor of Madras, acted in his absence. He finally decided by a resolution dated the 19th July 1904 that Ganjam should remain within the Madras province.

Vainly did the Oriyas of Ganjam send a Memorial on the 30th November 1904, to Lord Ampthill, on his reversion as the Governor of Madras. In 1909, they sent another Memorial to the successor of Lord Ampthill. The Oriyas of Ganjam carried on incessant agitation for amalgamation, and the formation of the province of Orissa in 1935 was to a great extent the result of this agitation.

In September 1907, a petition addressed to the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal was submitted to the Deputv Commissioner, Sambalpur, protesting against the transfer of Sambalpur to Bengal. It was pointed out that the people of Sambalpur made agitation for the restoration of Oriya as court language in Sambalpur, but it was far from their intention that the district would be transferred from the C. P, to Bengal. It was stated in the Petition that the district had been transferred without consulting public opinion on that matter. The people do not want the transfer because the law and revenue administration in Sambalpur differ from the Bengal system. The Deputy Commissioner forwarded the application to the

Commissioner, Orissa, with the remark that many of the grievances were exaggerated (352).

In 1907, Madhusudan Das gave evidence before the Royal Commission on Decentralization. He explained the difficulties which the Oriyas in the Central Provinces and Madras Presidency experience in matter of education and appointments, and suggested as a remedy the formation of a province containing all the Oriya speaking tracts (353).

In 1911, it was decided to separate Bihar from Bengal. Lord Hardinge in his Despatch to the Secretary of State dated the 25th August 1911, pointed out that a strong belief had grown among the Biharis that Bihar would not develop unless it was separated from Bengal. The Viceroy observed in this connection : "The Oriyas like the Beharees have little in common with the Bengalees". So he thought that a Union with Bihar "would accord with popular sentiment in Orissa".

Public opinion in Orissa was not consulted at the time of the creation of the new province. Orissa was joined with Bihar on the curious ground that the Oriyas like the Biharis have little in common with the Bengalis. The fact that they have much less affinity with the Biharis was never discussed.

Sir Ali Imam of Bihar was at that time the Law member of the Viceroy's Executive council. He was a signatory to the Despatch which was sent to the Secretary of State. Sir Ali Imam wanted Bihar's separation from Bengal but not a Chief Commissionership. To raise his province to the status of Lieutenant Governorship, he yoked the Oriyas with the Biharis.

The Oriyas were greatly disappointed when Orissa was not made a Chief Commissioner's province like Assam. The minimum justice they now wanted was the inclusion of all Oriya speaking tracts in the new province. They expected that the Biharis with whom their lot was now cast would support their agitation. They thought that Sir Ali Imam would at least plead for the inclusion of Ganjam. But they were soon disillusioned.

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(352). M. M. Crawford, Deputy Commissioner, Sambalpur to Commissioner, Orissa, 5th September 1907

(353). *The Oriya Movement* p. 39. In 1908, Madhusudan Das went to England. He distributed a pamphlet entitled 'Discontented India' among the members of the Parliament. In the pamphlet, he pointed out grievances of the Oriyas.

On the 16th December 1911, a public meeting was held at the Cuttack Town Hall to welcome the formation of the new Province. The resolution was moved by Kalpataru Das and seconded by Gokulananda Chaudhury. But some speakers criticized the Government for the non-inclusion of Ganjam and other Oriya-speaking tracts.

On the 23rd December 1911, the province of Bihar and Orissa came to existence. The Oriyas of Ganjam sent another Memorial to Lord Hardinge praying for the inclusion of Ganjam in the new province. Lord Curzon, during the debate in the House of Lords on the Government of India Bill, in 1911, observed : "The interests of the Oriyas have been sacrificed without compunction", because, "the Oriyas are a non-agitating people".

Due to this very idea, Orissa was denied justice at the time of the re-distribution of boundaries in 1935 and 1955.

The Mass demonstration of 1956 was the result of the frustration of half a century.

APPENDIX

I. JUDGMENT ON THE KEONJHAR TRIAL, 1868

Hanged :

1. Ratna Naik
2. Dasarathi Kumar
3. Baikuntha Kol
4. Padu Naik
5. Tuni Pradhan
6. Margasiri Kol
7. Bairagi Kol

Transportation for life :

1. Babu Naik
2. Rania Kol
3. Nanda Padhan
4. Juang Dehuri
5. Charan Dehuri
6. Gadadhar Singh Babu
7. Kanhu Adhikari
8. Ghana Ulabhai
9. Dhana Dehuri
10. Chemta Padhan
11. Chandra Behara Kabatsingh
12. Keonjharia Juang
13. Ghasia Patra
14. Pindika Sahani
15. Dasa Naik
16. Majua Juang
17. Baidhara Naik
18. Nanda Mallika
19. Sukra Padhan
20. Oriya Juang
21. Uddhaba Jena

Transportation for 12 years and above :

1. Bikrama Mahapatra
2. Banamali Rana
3. Gangadhara Patra
4. Tila Phaudakara
5. Kambu Mahapatra
6. Sukanath Mahapatra
7. Basu Padhana
8. Phagu Dehuri
9. Sadananda Naik
10. Bamadeva Rana
11. Kusa Juang
12. Bhanjakara Majhi
13. Bhadri Dehuri

Transportation or imprisonment for 10 years :

1. Pathania Samanta Garhnaik
2. Danai Phaudakara
3. Rajiba Jujarsingh
4. Panchu Mahapatra
5. Prahlada Dandasena
6. Bisi Gadnayak
7. Isvar Nayak
8. Krushnakhala Babu
9. Senda Garhnaik
10. Patita Singh

Thirty were sentenced to imprisonment for 7 years, and 51 to imprisonment for less than 7 years. Rewards were declared for the apprehension of 10 absconders.

II. NOTICE TO THE PEOPLE OF KEONJHAR

(Translation)

Last year, when there was friction between the Raja and the Prajas of Keonjhar, Hon'ble Bengal government took the Maharaja to Cuttack and sent Srijut Wyllis to the 'district' for investigation. After getting his report, it was ordered that Sri Maharaja would go back to the 'district', and assume the administration and on behalf of the Government, one Agent would be posted in the district to see that the subjects are not unnecessarily harassed and that they get impartial justice. The Hon'ble Lieutenant Governor explained this order to those subjects of Keonjhar who met him during his stay at Bhadrak.

1. According to that order, Sri Maharaja returned to the district in the month of Phalguna, accompanied by an officer, appointed as Agent on behalf of the Government.

2. Since his arrival, the Government Agent has been repeatedly giving the instruction to the subjects that they should acknowledge the authority of Sri Maharaja, and live peacefully in the district without fear and he will personally see that in future no body will do any injustice to them and that they will get true justice.

3. Most of the subjects have admitted the authority of Sri Maharaja and are living happily by establishing amicable relations: but some Bhuyans and Kols are still resisting his authority and are not paying rent, thus defying the orders of Sri Maharaja and the Government Agent.

4. Sufficient time has been given to those contumacious subjects to accept the authorities of Sri Maharaja and the Government Agent in their interests, and to live in peace. Inspite of that, guided by evil counsels, they have not yet followed the path of peace and are terrorising those who are following that path.

5. Even then, they are oncemore given time out of grace, and by this notice they are informed that they are given time till November 30, Margasira 17. If they present themselves before the Agent on behalf of the Government, at the garh, and pay allegiance to the Maharaja, and accept the authority of the Government Agent, who is there to protect them from all sorts of oppression and act according to his direction, and pay the dues, still unrealized, and take time for arrears, if any, and agree to abide by the order of the Hon'ble Government regarding administration; then they would be pardoned for their contumacy. The Government Agent would see that they get justice.

If they continue to remain 'Amaniya' (contumacious) then according to the direction of the Hon'ble Government, soldiers would be sent to their villages and their crops would be attached, and force would be applied to bring them under control, and they would be punished.

This notice has been circulated, according, to the instruction of the Hon'ble Government.

N. K. Das Government Agent, 12th October 1891

III. A MEMORIAL TO LORD RIPON

Dated 19th December 1882
(EXTRACT)

May it please your Excellency,

The undersigned members of Orissa People's Association, sensibly alive to your Excellency's noble deed in sowing fresh seeds of liberty in the life of the people of India, destitute of independence, by vouchsafing to accord to them the benefits of Local Self Government, humbly beg to offer their present of hearty thanks to your Excellency. We express our deep sense of gratitude we owe to you, the model of prudent and magnanimous statesman, for the revocation of the Press Act and having graciously re-established its freedom. We are truly grateful to your Excellency for your earnest desire to effectuate the advancement of commerce and mass education in this country. Sanguine hopes are entertained by Orissa People's Association that under such an enlightened and righteous Viceroy, the Laws relating to Rent would be just and devoid of any tinge of partiality ◦ ◦ ◦ that the difference of Laws, now in force, in connection with the legal prosecution of a European with a Native be annulled and their uniformity be effected and that your Excellency would graciously be pleased to repeal the Arms Act.

The Private Secretary to the Viceroy was desired to thank Babu Denonath Banerjee, Secretary, Orissa People's Association for this letter.

IV. PROGRESS OF EDUCATION IN ORISSA

Letter of Setton-Karr to the Government of Bengal

dated 19th October 1860

(Extract)

The Oryahs say our children must be generally speaking what we are. They must necessarily follow for the most part, the same handicraft, profession or trade, and for this purpose, no particular education is necessary. As for the Government service, we do not see the advisability of putting ourselves to straits now, with the view of hereafter securing it for our sons. Government service is a will-o'-wisp which we should never be able to approach; for all the chief subordinate offices, civil, fiscal and judicial are occupied by the Bengalees; every department swarms with their kith and kins; what chances have our sons under such circumstances, to succeed in their efforts to obtain Government services without interest, where interest is all prevailing ? And there is a force in this rejoinder; for in the list of subordinate employees, the Mookerjees, Banerjees, Boses and Ghoshes and other uncouth Bengali patronymics preponderate; the Mussalmans are not a few : while the Dases, the Putnaicks, the Padhans, the Mohantys and other Oryah caste names are in the minority. Out of 550 employees in the offices, Sudder and Moffussil, of the Magistrates and Collectors and Salt Agents of the Province and reported in 1859, and making a deduction on account of the Canungoes whose posts are hereditary, only 226 are Oryahs while 224 are Bengalees, the rest are Mussalmans.

Setting aside the past few years, there is no doubt that the Bengalee candidate has been preferred to the Oryah, not because he was more fit but because he was backed by the interest of the Sheristadars or the head native officers, added not a little by the Bengalee sympathies of the Hakim.

Had this not been the case, had larger degree of patronage been extended to the Oryah, as having more right to local appointments than strangers and had due allowance made for the disadvantages under which he (the Oryah) had laboured as compared to the Bengalee, the *desiderated impetus to the education* would have long been given and would have now been shewing good results.

Recent rules however and a more impartial consideration for the Oryahs have already begun to work as a change.

V. THE LANGUAGE AGITATION

In January 1841, the Sudder Board of Revenue suggested that Bengali should replace Oriya as the Court language in Orissa. Mills, who was the Commissioner at that time, vehemently opposed the idea which was dropped. The Inspector of schools. Western Circle, in his Report dated the 27th June 1849 suggested that Bengali be the medium of instruction in the Vernacular schools of Orissa, as Oriya text-books were not available..

After the famine, Orissa was made a separate circle, and Robert Perry was appointed the Inspector of schools. In 1868 he again raised the issue but due to the opposition of Ravenshaw the matter was dropped.

Unfortunately, some Bengalis serving in Orissa (354) snd some Bengalis of Calcutta now made an agitation for the imposition of Bengali as the medium of instruction in the schools of Orissa. The situation was aggravated by some unfortunate remarks of Rajendralal Mitra. On the 9 th December 1868, K. C. Ghosh, Advocate of the Calcutta High Court read a paper on 'Patriotism' at Cuttack. Rajendralal Mitra, who happened to be present, criticized false patriotism and in this connection pointed out that the Oriyas were injuring themselves by their attachment to Oriya langugage, which, in his opinion, is derived from Bengali. He pointed out that Oriya, spoken by only twenty lakhs of people of the Coast cannot develop. While in Bengali about five hundred books were published in the last three months, only three or four books were published in Oriya.

The feelings in Orissa ran high and the editor of the *Utkal Dipika* condemned 'the ignorance' of Rajendralal Mitra regarding the origin of the Oriya language and the the number of Oriya speaking people (355).

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(354). Sibdas Bhattacharya, Deputy Inspector of schools, Balasore tried 'to abolish Oriya' from the schools. The people of Balasore demanded his transfer.

Utkal Dipika 26th March 1870

(355) *Utkal Dipika* 13th & 20th March 1869

In 1870, Kantichandra Bhattacharya, a Pundit of the Balasore school wrote a booklet entitled 'Oriya is not a separate language'. John Beames in an article criticized the booklet, which in his opinion, was "profoundly destitute of philological arguments" (356). He proved that the theory of the derivation of Oriya from Bengali is absurd. But Kantichandra had a few supporters including Rajendralal Mitra. He attacked the editor of the *Utkal Dipika* and reiterated that Oriya is a dialect of Bengali, 'and not a distinct language' (357).

He argued that "education in Orissa should be conducted in Bengali", as there were no text books in Oriya.

Jagmohan Ray, Gaurisankar Ray, Raja Shamananda De challenged the truth of Rajendralal Mitra's statements. Fortunately, no prominent Bengali supported the manifestly illogical arguments of Rajendralal Mitra, who would have certainly changed his opinion, had he lived to see M. M. Chakravarti's monograph 'The Language and Literature of Orissa', (J. A. S. B. 1899).

Undue importance has been attached to this language agitation which was confined to the level of theoretic arguments. The Government did not take this agitation seriously (358). The advocates of the Bengali medium took advantage of the dearth of text-books in Oriya

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(356). "On the relations of the Uriya to other modern Aryan languages" : John Beames J. A. S. B. June 1870.

(357). J. A. S. B. 1870 pp 210-216.

"The first of the two paragraphs of an article in which the Editor of the *Utkal Dipika* condemned my theory about the Bengali origin of the Uriya—contain just 142 words of which 137 are Bengali, or derived from Bengali and five are English".

It is a pity that such a statement was made by an erudite scholar, the author of the *Antiquities of Orissa*. Rajendralal forgot that the same argument may be advanced to prove Oriya derivation of Bengali.

(358). Ravenshaw championed the cause of the Oriya language. During the prize distribution of the Cuttack school in 1868, he advocated the abolition of the Bengali section of the school and advised the Bengali students to learn Oriya

Utkal Dipika 13th April 1868.

Bhudev Mukherjee, Inspector of Schools, Weatern Circle. (which included Orissa) evinced a keen interest in Oriya literature.

Radhanath Jibani pp. 99-191

In a public meeting at Cuttack, on the 24th September 1881, he highly spoke of Oriya culture.

language and the agitation collapsed when a number of such books were written (359).

In 1886, the old sore was re-opened, when a correspondent wrote in English in the *Utkal Dipika* expressing a pious hope that "a time will come when Bengali will be the language of the educated class from Debrugarh to Pooree" without any displacement of Oriya by Bengali "which will do more harm than good" (360).

As a reply to the language agitation, in the second half of the 19th century the Bengali settlers in Orissa enriched the Oriya literature by their contributions. Modern Oriya literature is greatly indebted to Radhanath Rai, Umesh Chandra Sarkar and Ramsankar Ray. They made amends for the mistake of Rajendralal Mitra.

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(359). In this matter the Bengali settlers in Orissa took the lead and by 1872, a number of text-books in Oriya were written by them. Dwarakanath Chakravarti, Headmaster of the Normal school, wrote books on Mensuration, geography, and Natural science. Nimai Ballabh Bhattacharya wrote Oriya grammar. Peary Mohan Acharya wrote the history of Orissa. Indrakumar Chatterjee translated *Vastu Vichara* by Ramgati Nyayaratna. In 1870, Ramaprasanna Mukherjee translated *Bhugola* by Radhika Mukherjee

(360). *Utkal Dipika* 5th June 1886.

VI. LETTERS OF MADHUSUDAN DAS FROM ENGLAND

(1)

Visit to T. E. Ravenshaw

(Extract)

I did not know Mr. Ravenshaw. I have never met him in India. He had left the country before I returned to Orissa. * * As I came out of the train, a short old man with a grey beard walked up to me, and accosting me "Mr. Das ?" shook hands as if we had been old friends of years. I said "Mr. Ravenshaw, I am sorry you should have come all this way. Surely I would have found my way to your house". He replied "But I feel it my duty to come and meet you here". * * After a few minutes he said "Excuse me asking this question, Are you a genuine Oriya ?" I said, "Every drop of blood in me was of Oriya origin". He — "I am very fond of your race and I would talk more freely to an Oriya than to any other man". Ravenshaw spoke in 'Oriya, offering a cigar. He made searching enquiries regarding the disturbances in Keonjhar and Nayagarh.

The old gentleman has a strong desire to see Orissa once more. He offered to go to India in connection with the present famine, but his offer was declined by the Government of India.

Utkal Dipika 7th August 1897

(2)

Revenue setllement in Orissa.

In this long letter he has described the extinction of the old Oriya proprietors in the first quarter of the 19th century. In conclusion he writes : "The revenue settlements under the British government reduced the country to a worse condition than she was under the Marathas. In laying these lines before the authorities, as well the general English public, I beg them to consider whether the treatment which the province received under the British Government is calculated to enhance the confidence which the people of Orissa have shown to the British nation or to give them sufficient motive to continue to be 'supporters of the Government', as they hitherto been. * *

The British Government will even at this late hour confer a lasting boon on the province, put it on the way to material progress and make amends for the wrongs done to the people if they make the settlement now in progress a permanent one."

Utkal Dipika 27th November 1897.

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